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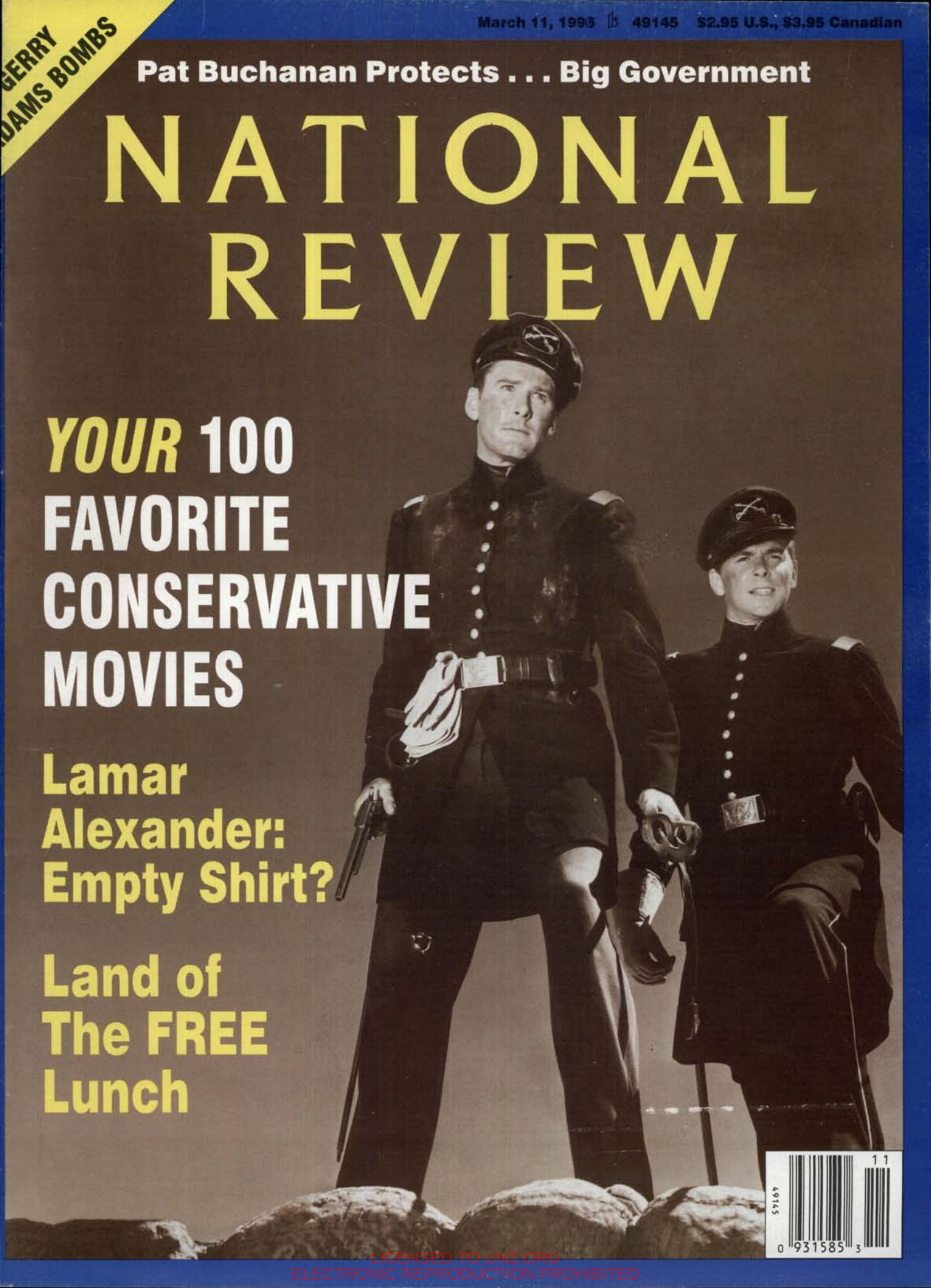
GERRY ADAMS BOMBS

Pat Buchanan Protects . . . Big Government

NATIONAL REVIEW



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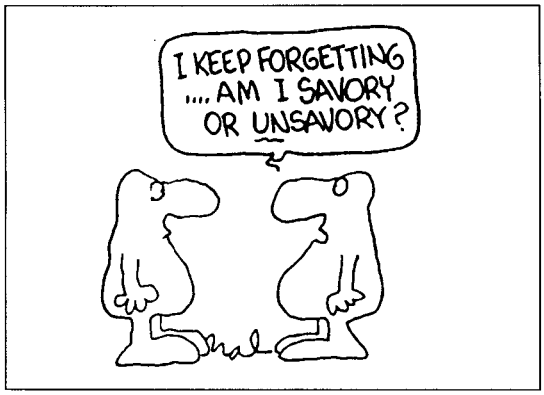

COVER STORY

55 ***Your 100 Best Conservative Movies***
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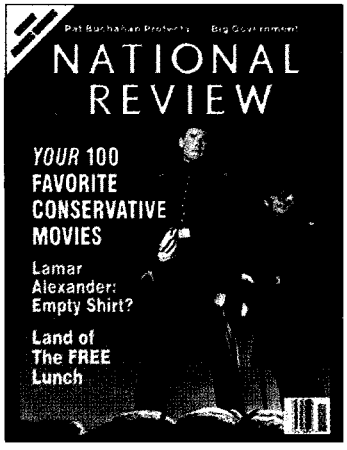

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LETTERS

Perverse Language

Unlike Digby Anderson ["Special Dietary Needs," Jan. 29], I see aspects of vegetarianism that are very consistent with conservative principles: 1) The production of meat is heavily subsidized by farm programs. In a truly free market, its cost would therefore rise, and consumers would eat less meat than they do now. 2) Health care is also subsidized, inasmuch as most medical services are bought with pre-tax dollars. Once again, in an unengineered market the cost of health care as we have come to know it would rise, and consumers would have economic incentives to pay more attention to diet and exercise.

Mr. Anderson's flourishing touch—calling vegetarians perverts—is an Orwellian crippling of the language, like Al Gore calling freshman Republicans extremists. My goodness! If vegetarians are perverts, what words are left to describe necrophiliacs? I hope we all agree that preserving the meaning of words transcends even our difference of opinion on crucial issues like granola.

Robert P. Slocum
White Plains, N.Y.

Hooray for Forbes and Flat Tax

Rich Lowry ["Rich and Spoiler," Jan. 29] referred to Sen. Robert Bennett (R., Utah) as "one of a number of [Jude] Wanniski's unlikely presidential possibilities." Quite right. My eccentricity led me to place Steve Forbes at the top of the list. My starting assumption is that democracy works, and that Americans are looking for a president who is able to point the government in the right direction—toward a land of milk and honey where it only takes one breadwinner to support a family.

I present the top ten list I had in mind when I first approached Steve Forbes to run for the GOP nomination. (My wife Patricia was the first person to suggest that I should persuade Forbes.) The common denominator is that all on the list are fundamentally optimists. 1) Steve Forbes; 2) Gov. John Engler (Mich.); 3) Sen. Trent Lott (Miss.); 4) Sen. Robert Bennett; 5) House Majority Leader Dick Armey; 6) Colin Powell; 7) Ted Forstmann of Forstmann, Little & Co.; 8) Gov. Tommy Thompson (Wis.); 9) Sen. Connie Mack (Fla.); 10) Gov. Bill Weld (Mass.).

My wife and I are extremely pleased that many Americans are finding Steve Forbes as attractive a presidential possibility as we have.

Jude T. Wanniski
Polyconomics, Inc.
Morristown, N.J.

Proponents of the flat tax, generally Republicans, point out that under the plan all taxpayers will pay the same rate. Opponents of the flat tax, generally Democrats, claim that only progressive rates are fair. No one seems to have noticed that the flat tax is in fact progressive. This is not a defect in the flat tax, it is merely a fact.

The progressivity comes in when some amount of income is excluded from taxation, a feature of all the current proposals. Consider a flat tax of 20 per cent applied to all income over $40,000. These figures are close to those under discussion: A taxpayer with an income of $40,000 or less pays no tax at all—a rate of 0 per cent. A taxpayer with an income of $50,000 pays $2,000 in taxes (20 per cent of $50,000 minus $40,000). This $2,000 represents a tax rate of 4 per cent. At an income of $100,000 the tax rate is 12 per cent; at $200,000 it is 16 per cent. This is a progressive tax.

The flat tax is simple and is the same for all taxpayers. No one gets special exemptions. This eliminates the corruption of buying legal loopholes. Those who oppose the flat tax shall have to come up with a better reason.

Jordan Rosenberg, PhD
Morningside Institute
San Francisco, Calif.

Labor Disputes

Ramesh Ponnuru ["Nonsense on Stilts," Dec. 31] describes Secretary of Labor Robert Reich's books and articles as "notorious for their cavalier approach to facts," but he runs the gamut of nearly two dozen easily identifiable inaccuracies, from minor distortions, (i.e., incorrectly listing titles of President Clinton's cabinet and falsely stating the reason why the Department of Labor established a toll-free phone number) to major claims that Secretary Reich has been loose with the facts that support his efforts to boost the economic conditions of America's working class.

The economy is on a roll. Nearly eight million new jobs have been created in the past three years—a better record than any other Administration since Harry Truman. However, the median full-time worker earns no more than 15 years ago. The Clinton Administration policies are working to reconnect the successful economy with an expanding American pocketbook.

Mr. Ponnuru's assertions are not surprising. Clearly, they are part of a campaign to discredit any hard evidence of wage stagnation and the increasing inequality between the rich and the poor.

Susan King, Assistant Secretary
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.

Miss King quite properly scores me for two errors. I misidentified Roger Altman as the head of the National Economic Council when he was, in fact, deputy Treasury Secretary. And due to an editing error I asserted that the Labor Department had established a toll-free hot-line so that workers could "learn" how a minimum-wage boost would affect their lives. I meant to say "explain." These errors, while regrettable, hardly justify the extravagant claim that I made "nearly two dozen" mistakes. I documented Mr. Reich's habit of making unsubstantiated assertions, particularly in response to criticism. Apparently the habit has spread to his subordinates. My account of politicization and distortion of fact at the Labor Department remains unrefuted.

The "campaign" which Miss King sees so "clearly" exists only in her imagination. I explicitly conceded that wage and income inequality is increasing. The administration's reading of the economy is, alas, no more perceptive than Miss King's reading of my article. President Clinton presides over a weak economy. The unemployment rate is low largely because fewer Americans are choosing to work or look for work. Job growth, measured properly in percentage terms rather than against Truman's smaller baseline, has been dismal. But these problems are largely the result of misguided recent policies, and can be solved by reversing those policies. Reich attempts to justify a more activist agenda by positing a long-term structural problem in the economy (stagnation of middle-class living standards) that simply does not exist. —RP

Kirby Wilbur

My flabber was gasted when I read my "The New Media" [Dec. 11] and found that my favorite Seattle radio host, Kirby Wilbur, had somehow been renamed Kirby McClure. My apologies to your readers and to Wilburites everywhere.

Neal B. Freeman
Arlington, Va.

Letters will be held to 300 words. We reserve the right to edit for clarity or length.

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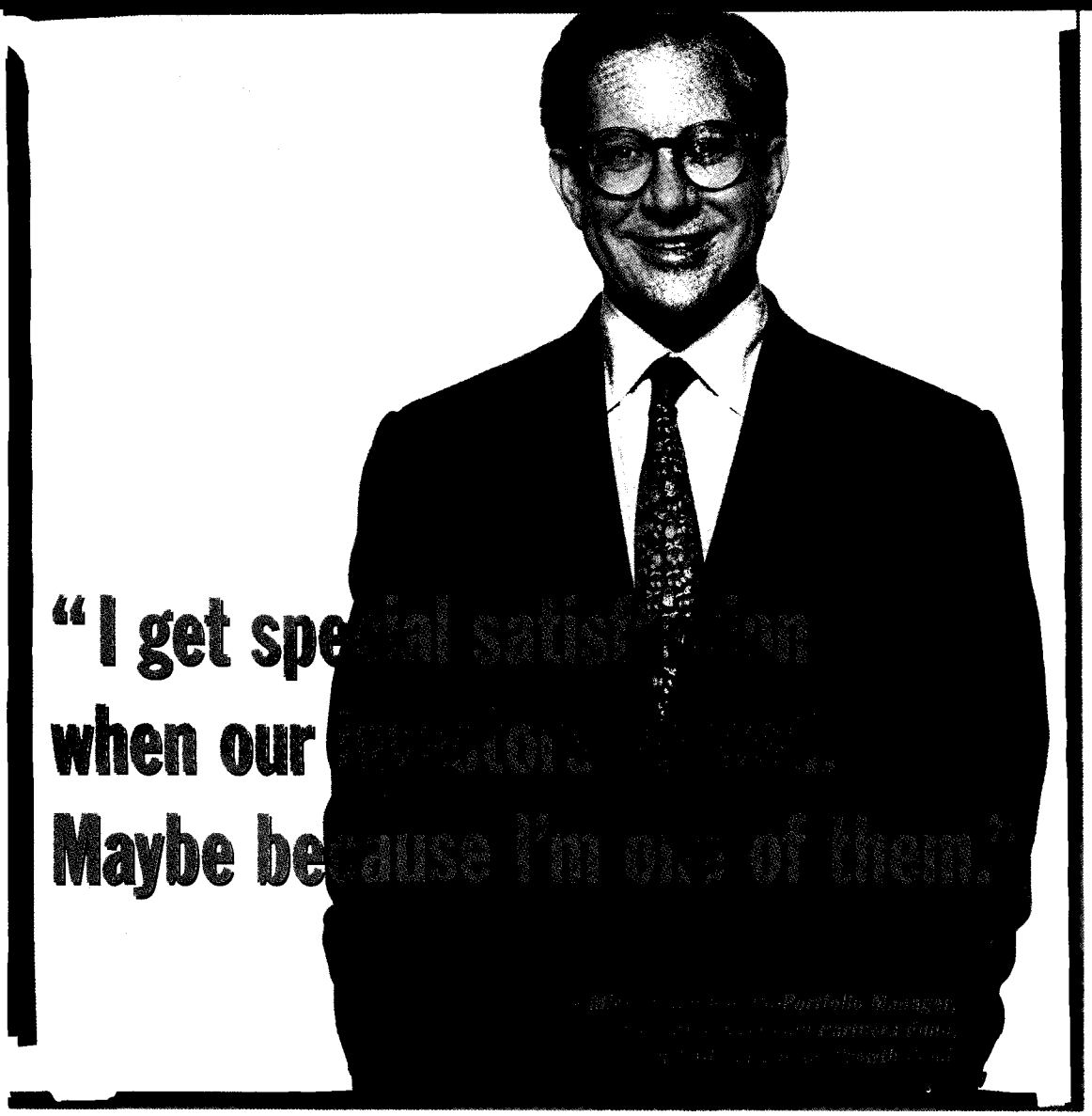

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FROM THE EDITOR

A Seat in the Stalls

■ When the bomb went off with a not-very loud *Whoosh*, the restaurant fell quiet for a moment.

"About a half a mile away, I should guess," said one of my dinner companions. In fact, it was nearer, something like three hundred yards; but we were on the opposite side of the River Thames which may have muffled the shock wave.

In London for Presidents' Day weekend, I was dining with old friends in a Festival Hall restaurant. We were facing that sweep of the river which Waterloo Bridge spans; the double-decker bus had crossed it less than two minutes before it exploded. A slight difference in timing, and we would have seen the bus vanish in a burst of technicolor terrorism.

As it was, we had a seat in the stalls for the rescue efforts, watching the police cars and ambulances, with their flashing blue lights, rush along the Embankment and over the bridge, ferrying the wounded back to St. Thomas's hospital.

Bombings stimulate a nervous camaraderie. After the restaurant's first hushed reaction, there was conversation between tables.

"There's a Frank Zappa memorial concert in the hall, isn't there?" someone asked gloomily. "I was hoping that was the source of the noise."

We all laughed. People's reactions are not what you might expect. Certainly they are saddened, but excited too.

Are they intimidated, though? Not really. London is really too large for terrorism to change people's minds. Since the mid Seventies, there have been 210 bombing incidents in London; 47 people have died. So the likelihood of one person's being bombed is about equal to that of being struck by lightning.

After a while, people get used to the daily precautions that terrorism requires, and get on with their lives.

■ Which in no way diminishes the horror for the victims when the bombers' lightning strikes.

One is a bomber himself, killed when his own bomb went off accidentally (an "own goal" in the sardonic jargon of Northern Ireland.) His apparent accomplice, badly wounded, is under a police guard in the hospital. And two innocent passers-by have been very severely wounded, the man still in intensive care, the woman recovering but "distressed."

They too were visitors, winners of a St. Valentine's Day competition for a romantic weekend in London. Now they are facing a future of pain, physiotherapy, and plastic surgery.

■ Mr. Gerry Adams has refused either to "condemn or to condone" the bombing. It is a well-crafted formulation, suggesting a judicious neutrality, but it means that he condones the bombing. Not to condemn an atrocity is to condone it.

If you doubt that, consider this amendment: Mr. Adams last night refused either to condemn or condone the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

■ The reaction of Irish and British politicians has been to declare that the "peace process" must go ahead. Kevin Myers argues in his analysis of the effects of the first London bomb (page 26) that it is now dead.

But was it ever truly alive? In the vital sense that innocent people were not murdered wantonly for almost two years, it was a reality and a boon. But we can now see that for the IRA it was merely an instrument.

If "peace talks" could force the North and its Protestant majority into a united Ireland, the IRA was happy to go that route; if not, then they would bomb and shoot people for the same purpose. What the IRA would not tolerate was any solution that did not achieve its aim.

So why should people who don't favor a united Ireland enter talks with either the IRA or its *consigliere*, Mr. Adams, since they would be limited to arranging their surrender.

The IRA is not opposed to the peace process; you might say that it neither condemns nor condones it.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

NATIONAL REVIEW

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Negativity in race for GOP presidential nomination leads party leaders to worry whether anyone will be left standing to take on **Bill Clinton**. . . . **Lamar Alexander** and **Pat Buchanan** come on strong in New Hampshire, get heavy media coverage. *New York Times* runs three liberal columnists attacking Buchanan in one day. . . . Buchanan comes under fire for national co-chairman **Larry Pratt**'s association with fringe groups. Pratt attended 1992 rally at invitation of Christian Identity Movement leader **Pete Peters** and appeared subsequently several times on Peters's TV show. Pratt takes leave of absence, and Buchanan stands by him: "Larry Pratt is a devout Christian. He's being attacked because he supports me." . . . Buchanan amplifies economic message, calling **Bob Dole** "Mr. NAFTA, Mr. GATT, and Mr. Mexican bailout." On Valentine's Day Buchanan visits greenhouse, says rose growers "are the casualties of these trade policies that my friend, excuse me, Senator Dole, has supported again and again and again." . . . Alexander tries to deflect stories about slick financial dealings with the line "I plead guilty to being a capitalist." . . . Alexander, stumped by a reporter's question, turns to an aide: "I need to know the price of a gallon of milk and a dozen eggs. I need to know right now.". . . Pro-life activist **Randall Terry**, a Buchanan supporter, on **Bill Bennett** endorsement of Alexander: "Bennett has shown us once again that he is not the man of virtues. . . . He's not one of us. Don't trust him." . . . After dismal Iowa showing, **Phil Gramm** drops out of presidential race and in parting remarks calls Buchanan's protectionism "a dagger aimed at the heart of everything we stand for." Days later, Gramm endorses Bob Dole as the candidate "who can unite the economic conservatives and social conservatives." . . . Also endorsing Dole: conservative stalwart **Pete du Pont**. . . . *Los Angeles Times* reports on previously undisclosed GOPAC tapes from 1989-90, in which **Newt Gingrich** said that Dole "frankly doesn't give a damn" about fighting for conservative values. . . . Strong showing by anti-establishment candidates Buchanan, **Forbes**, and **Alan Keyes** in Alaska could mean trouble for Sen. **Ted Stevens**, who faces insurgent millionaire **Dave Cuddy** in GOP primary.

■ Former Clinton communications director **Mark Gearan**'s notes of 1994 meetings reveal **Hillary Clinton**'s large role in Whitewater damage control. According to Gearan notes, deputy chief of staff **Harold Ickes** said it was "impossible" to get Mrs. Clinton to agree to call for an independent counsel to investigate the scandal and that even the "POTUS [President of the United States] can't" get her to agree. . . . *The Nation* excoriates White House over Whitewater. The left-wing weekly editorializes that "the White House has engaged in abuses of power that are, at best, shameful" and reminds Clinton defenders who talk of a "cover-up without a crime" that "a cover-up is a crime when it involves lying to federal investigators and Congress." *The Nation* concludes "Whitewater and Travelgate are a litmus test for liberals of their commitment to honesty in government. Do they have one standard, or two?" . . . **George Stephanopoulos** tells Larry King why he thinks President Clinton will be re-elected: "He kept the promises he meant to keep."

■ Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, private corporations chartered by Congress to finance home mortgages, spend more than $100,000 on Iowa and New Hampshire ads attacking the flat tax. Flat taxer **Dick Armey** complains, "Here you have government-sponsored enterprises . . . that are lobbying for a special provision in the tax code. I don't consider that appropriate." . . . Free Enterprise & Media Institute (FEMI) study of network television and newsmagazine coverage finds bias against flat tax. In 16 January stories on flat tax by FEMI's count there were 51 arguments against, just 24 in favor. . . . CBS reporter **Bernard Goldberg** causes stir with *Wall St. Journal* op-ed criticizing colleague **Eric Engberg** for bias against flat tax. . . . **Michael Medved** notes nomination of *Braveheart* for 10 Academy Awards, including one for best director for **Mel Gibson**, who proved politically incorrect bona fides a few months ago by condemning abortion and homosexuality. Meanwhile, brazenly liberal *The American President* gets just one nomination—for best musical score in a comedy.

Matt—Rothco

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■ **Wu Yi**, China's foreign trade minister, says China will retaliate if U.S. fails to renew most-favored-nation trade status in June and will delay concessions Washington wants on tariffs, trademark piracy, other trade issues as the price of supporting Beijing's entry into the World Trade Organization. . . . Defense Sec. **William J. Perry** says U.S. is trying to find an Asia-Pacific forum to defuse China–Taiwan tension. . . . Tokyo sources say Pres. Bill Clinton and Japan's new prime minister, **Ryutaro Hashimoto**, will discuss threat to Taiwan as part of campaign to revitalize the U.S.–Japan mutual defense pact, with Washington putting trade issues on back burner at Japan meeting in mid-April. . . . **Sung Hae Rim**, former wife of North Korean leader **Kim Jong Il**, is defecting to West in Holland. . . . French Roman Catholic bishops have condoned the use of condoms to protect against the AIDS virus in defiance of Pope **John Paul II** and Church doctrine.

■ Two latest smears in the presidential race: New York shock jock **Don Imus** calls Steve Forbes "one wrestler away from a scandal"; columnist **William Safire** resurrects **Molly Ivins**'s slam on Pat Buchanan's 1992 Houston convention speech (it was "better in the original German").

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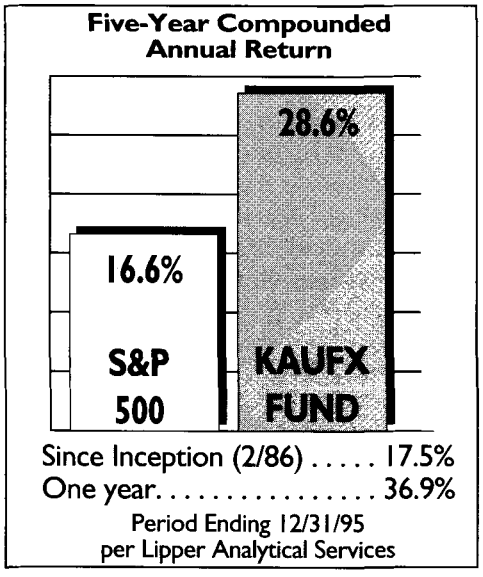

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THE WEEK

■ "Anonymous" has a new novel in the works about the Gramm campaign. Working title: *Colorless Primary*.

■ How's this for a bizarre twist: Phil Gramm is a Bob Dole supporter. The Gramm campaign—predictably—couldn't recover from the wound inflicted on it by Pat Buchanan in Louisiana. But in many ways it was self-inflicted. The foray into Louisiana—fertile territory for New World Order-baiting Buchanan—was misconceived from the start, a too-clever attempt to get a contrived bounce into Iowa, where, ironically, Gramm was doing just fine prior to his bayou debacle. There were other more fundamental problems with the campaign as well: its failure to court social conservatives vigorously or early enough; its myopic focus on "ready cash" (the campaign foolishly discounted Buchanan because he didn't have it); Gramm's unsympathetic public persona. But, all that said, Gramm looked like the candidate best suited to unite the rapidly parting economic and social wings of the conservative movement. The GOP had better find another, or Gramm won't be the only loser.

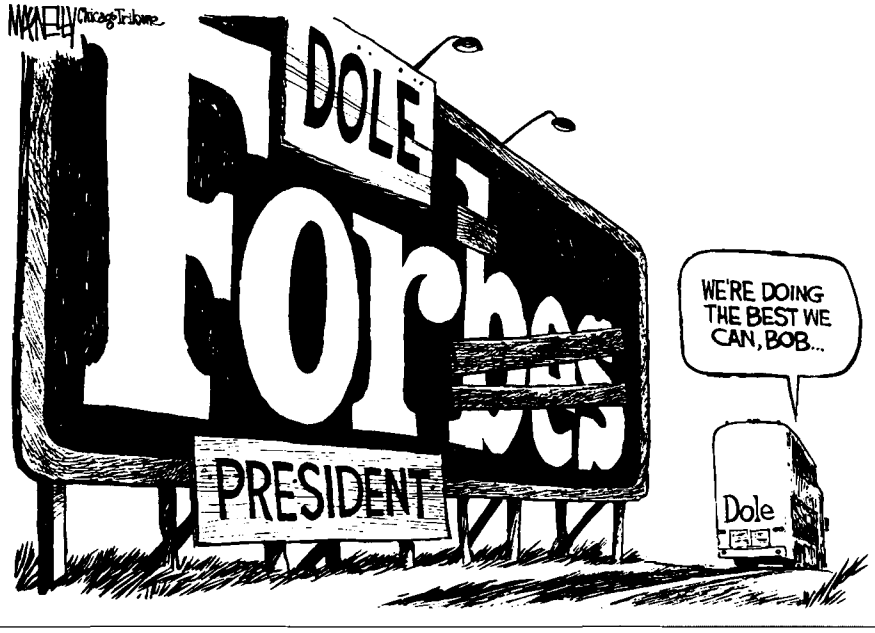
■ Dr. Jack Kevorkian was prevented from assisting in another suicide when police stopped him at the entrance to RNC headquarters.

■ This year, as in past years, the Iowa caucuses were marked by appeals to the state's many religious conservatives. Sadly, they were also marked, as in past years, by dirty politicking among the same. In 1988, when Pat Robertson and Jack Kemp battled for those votes, slanders abounded that Kemp was gay, and that Robertson belonged to a Korean cult. This time, the victim was Steve Forbes, whose yacht was accused of harboring a Mapplethorpe (an accusation designed to allude to Malcolm Forbes Sr.'s late-blooming homosexuality). There *is* a Mapplethorpe in the Forbes yacht—a seascape. A group which is itself the regular of malicious falsehoods should take care to honor the common decencies, to say nothing of the Ninth Commandment.

■ Plans for that nationwide chain of Phil Gramm charm schools have been put on hold.

■ Because establishment leaders have abandoned them on immigration, the American people have been in effect growing a new head. One sign of this: the high quality of private individuals speaking out on the issue. Thus the University of California at Davis's Professor Norman Matlof has single-handedly discredited the notion that Silicon Valley needs "foreign geniuses" [*NR*, "Debugging Immigration," Oct. 9, 1995]. Now his exposé of Chinese and Russian immigrants' massive dumping of elderly parents on the Supplementary Security Income program has been cited by the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector in the first critical article on immigration to appear on the *Wall Street Journal*'s editorial page for nearly three years. Devastatingly detailed and closely reasoned letters from Linda H. Thom, a Santa Barbara budget analyst, are an occupational hazard for unwary media immigration enthusiasts: Miss Thom has just shown that the U.S. census is systematically understating the impact of immigration by shifting the U.S. citizen children of immigrants into the totals for native-born families. And Barbara Coe, a principal architect of California's successful Proposition 187 denying illegal immigrants social services, is now running for the Republican nomination in the state's 67th assembly district. This is another reason immigration will be an issue in California's March 26 primary. Good luck to her—and to all of us.

■ After one year as New York's Governor, George Pataki is rapidly turning the Empire State into the privatization capital of the nation. Pataki's fast start owes much to the appointment of businessman and long-time privatization advocate, Ronald Lauder, as Chairman of New York's Privatization Council. The Administration has accepted Council recommendations to privatize Stewart Airport, the World Trade Center, the freight division of the Long Island Railroad, and a variety of state properties and services. Governor Pataki has also been appointed Chairman of the Privatization Task Force of the Republican Governors' Association. In February, both Pataki and Lauder testified before Congress's Joint Economic Committee on eliminating federal barriers to privatization (by means other than victory in November).



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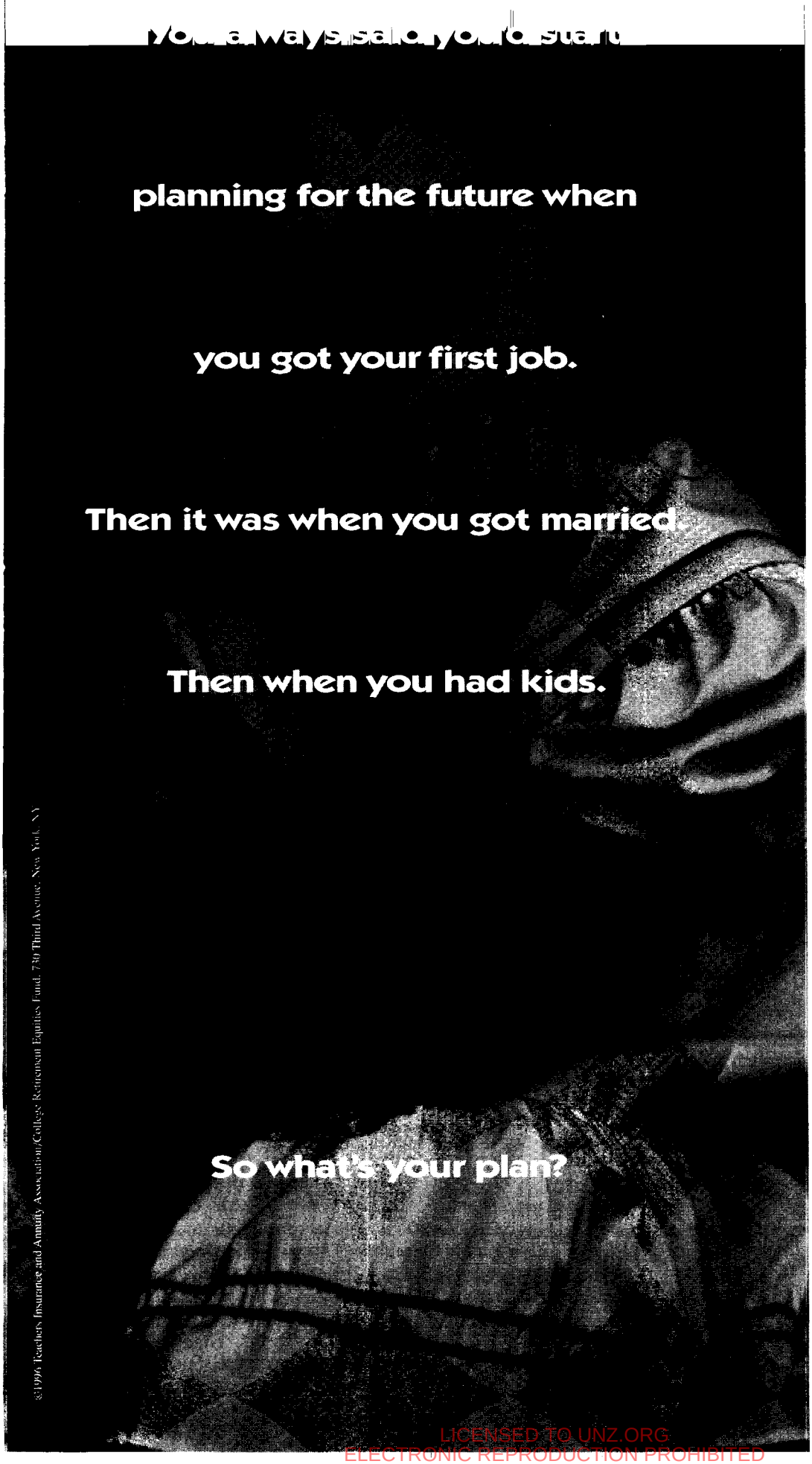
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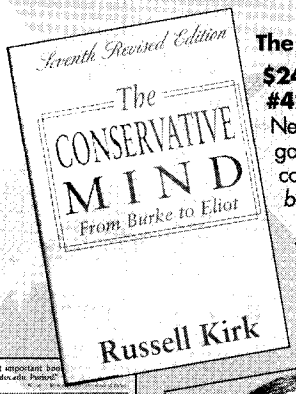

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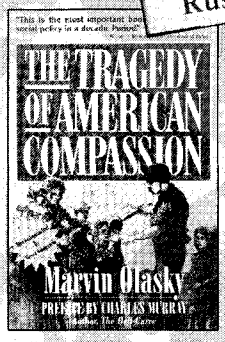

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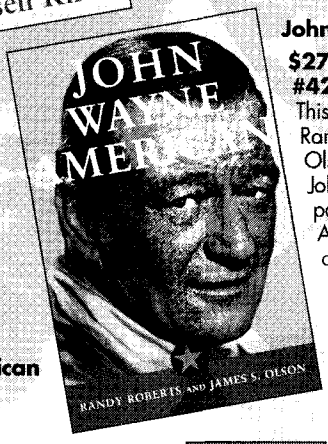

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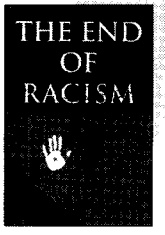

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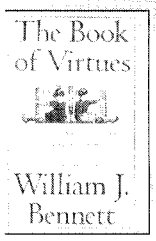

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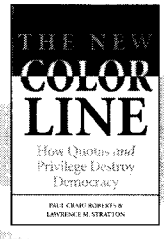

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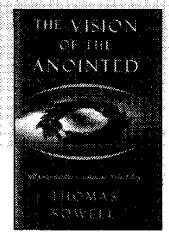

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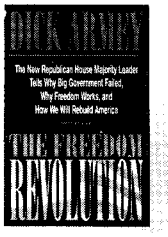

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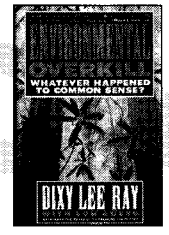

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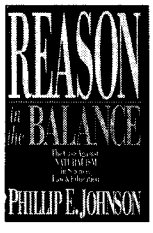

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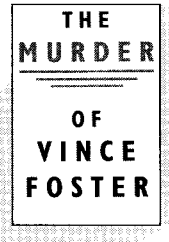

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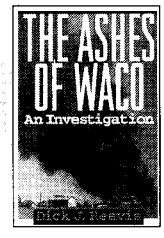

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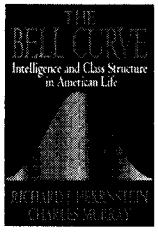

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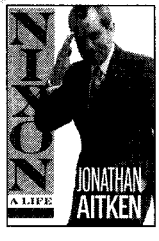

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■ The era of progress continues. After toppling the previous regime, the victorious military junta in Niger, Africa, sent word of its coup to the country's diplomats abroad by fax.

■ Maybe Lori Berenson was naïve when she and the Tupak Amaru Revolutionary Movement co-signed the lease on a house in Lima, Peru, which police later found packed with weapons. Or maybe Miss Berenson, a 26-year-old Manhattanite sentenced to life imprisonment in Peru for aiding terrorists, really is as fierce a revolutionary as her madwoman-in-the-attic performance at a pre-sentencing press conference would suggest. Probably the truth lies somewhere in between, in which case it wasn't entirely fair of that secret Peruvian military court to make Miss Berenson spend the rest of her days in an Andean dungeon with no heat and no hot water. But ordinary Peruvians, sick of decades of revolutionary terror, don't feel too sorry for Miss Berenson. May her example serve as a warning for other idealistic norteamericanos eager to meddle in other people's politics.

■ "Grover Cleveland was the only President to serve two non-consecutive terms. Bill Clinton is the only President serving two consecutive Presidencies in one term"—Paul Gigot in the *Wall Street Journal*. Hmmph. By our count, Mr. Clinton is up to six or eight Presidencies, or maybe twenty-three, and that's not counting Mrs. Clinton's Presidencies, which are reinvented every time she changes her hair.

■ The commander of U.S. forces in South Korea, Gen. Gary Luck, cabled the Pentagon late last year warning that the threat of North Korean Scud missiles was growing and urging that he needed two batteries of the Army's new THAAD (Theater High-Altitude Area Defense) anti-missile launchers as soon as possible. Gen. John Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, cabled him back a month later to say that delays in the Pentagon's overall theater-missile programs would postpone THAAD deployments until 2002 or 2003 at the earliest. Fortunately, the 1996 defense authorization act—signed into law February 10 by President Clinton—will force the Pentagon to cut through the red tape and deploy THAAD and other systems by 1999. Time for Shali to get cracking.

■ Iran will hold elections for its *majlis* (parliament), and the Chief Justice, Mohammad Yazdi, gave a sermon on Teheran radio explaining the ground rules: "It does not matter if [there] is a majority vote or a consensus. As long as the suffrage counters the will of God, it does not count." At last, a clue to the late Mayor Richard Daley's whereabouts in the hereafter.

■ The Army Corps of Engineers, which valiantly defends the nation's wetlands, recently declared the drainage ditches along a highway in central Nebraska to be protected "waters of the United States." The Nebraska Roads Department wanted to fill in the ditches as part of a road-widening project on the twenty-mile stretch of Route 30 between Cozad and Lexington. Before the project could proceed, the Corps demanded offsetting new wetland. To satisfy the Corps, the state Roads Department is buying 19 acres of prime alfalfa farmland at $2,000 an acre and spending more than $2 million to turn it into a bog. The Roads Department designed, and the Corps approved, an artificial wetland in the shape of a bison, the state's emblem. Though the *Omaha World Herald* figured out it's really bull.

■ President Clinton, meanwhile, has approved a plan to turn hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of productive south-Florida farmland into the Everglades. Like, all we need down there is more alligators, huh? And of course at taxpayer expense. But wait: the land is currently used for growing cane sugar, and the screams you hear are from a handful of domestic growers getting stinking rich thanks to federal sugar-price controls at triple the world price that cheat American consumers out of billions of dollars. The answer is to remove price controls and open U.S. markets to foreign sugar. The farmland will thus lose its artificial premium value, and so be restored to the Everglades at a fraction of the cost. Consumers will save those billions. And the alligators can have any remaining sugar growers.

■ The victory of "actress-author" Joan Collins in a contract dispute with Random House left earnest folk wondering what Miss Collins's famous editor, Joni Evans, could have been thinking. Random House said it shouldn't have to pay for Miss Collins's "very primitive, very much off base . . . jumbled and disjointed" novel, as Miss Evans put it sneeringly before a New York jury. Didn't Miss Evans know, when she first offered Miss Collins a multi-million-dollar advance, that actors, like First Ladies and billionaire-businessmen, rarely write their own books, and that when they do, the result tends to be incoherent, dull, or both? Of course Joni Evans

At Intermission

In ancient Greece, one always knew
That when the first act wouldn't do,
And Act II's where she ate the kids
As he (now bonkers) hit the skids,
Some Act III god was always there
To haul off the offending pair,
But neither Pat, Bob, or Lamar
Can haul an usher very far.

—W. H. von Dreele

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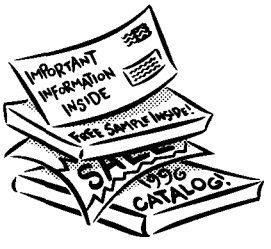
POSTAL NOTES

It's more influential than TV advertising. So why do they call it "junk mail"?



Any advertising medium that can influence consumers better than television deserves more respect.

And, in fact, most people like direct mail advertising. More than half the population read it promptly and completely, and say they find it useful. Some even say they'd like more. Over half the people in America order goods and services through catalogs or other advertising that comes by mail.

All of which is probably why direct mail is the U.S. Postal Service's fastest-growing business. Marketers large and small like it because it's inexpensive, goes straight to specific customers, invites response and gets results. And direct mail pays for itself, which is reassuring to customers who think First-Class postage rates subsidize third-class mail.

Direct mail is an essential component of the American retail economy. It benefits marketers and consumers alike. In 1995, it generated almost $385 billion in sales revenues for marketers. And it brought happiness to a lot of people who like browsing through catalogs, discovering unique products, or finding out about neighborhood bargains without leaving the comforts of home.

And now direct mail is going international. In 1995, the U.S. Postal Service sent to Japan the one millionth package for a major catalog retailer who is building a customer base there. And that helps the balance of payments.

So, call it Direct Marketing, call it Ad Mail—but please, don't call it junk mail.

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knew. What she didn't know was that Joan Collins would fade from TV while the work was in progress, thus cutting into her marketability as a celebrity "author." The jury was right to let Miss Collins keep her advance, bloated as it was by her publisher's greed. As for Joni Evans, she deserves to be confined to her office with nothing to read but Joan Collins novels until she admits that a deal, however dumb, is a deal.

■ O. J. Simpson is demanding to know where Carolyn Huber was the night of the murders.

Standing Pat?

NEW Hampshire's first-in-the-nation primary seems designed to keep the GOP race going to the bitter end, and maybe beyond to a brokered convention. Pat Buchanan won with 27 per cent of the vote and must now be considered a serious candidate. Front-runner Bob Dole ran behind with 26 per cent, so narrow a margin as almost to amount to a tie vote. Senator Dole's failure to score higher is damaging, but hardly enough to justify predicting his defeat. And Lamar Alexander's third-place finish at 23 per cent was indeed better than expected. With Mr. Buchanan supported by the grass-roots, Mr. Dole by the party establishment, and Mr. Alexander by the media, there is a candidate for every taste. So why the gloom?

A British saying has it that "the Tory Party never panics—except in a crisis." In the last few weeks, the GOP establishment has outdone the Tories; it has panicked without the excuse of a crisis, and indeed in the face of a historic realignment. Pat Buchanan's strong showings in Louisiana, Iowa, and New Hampshire are treated as harbingers of the end of civilization. Grown politicians threaten not to support him in the (still unlikely) event of his nomination. And there is much dark muttering that the new voters supporting him are—O Horror!—not Republicans, but people voting Republican for the first time. (Buchanan Democrats?)

But things are not as bad as they would seem to those whose interest is limited to differences within the party. Mr. Buchanan's showings are a tribute to his skills as a campaigner, which everyone has long acknowledged. They reflect also the allure of his positions and highlight the narrow ideological turf the GOP has been defending since the Bush years and, yes, even since the Gingrich revolution.

Mr. Buchanan's issues come in three clusters: moral, cultural, and economic. These attract three broad constituencies. Mr. Buchanan has gathered his support by opposing abortion and gay rights, by affirming family values, and by criticizing a degraded popular culture. On most of these issues he is at one with other conservative leaders, though he sometimes speaks in a distinctive voice. His opposition to racial and gender quotas and to unrestricted immigration gives him access to the more secular "radical middle" owned by Ross Perot. But his appeal to blue-collar voters anxious about their economic future takes him furthest from Republican—and conservative—orthodoxy. For here his appeal is frankly protectionist.

NATIONAL REVIEW has for many years urged the GOP to adopt many of the positions taken by Mr. Buchanan. It is a weakness of the Dole–Gingrich Congress that these issues have been either neglected (official English), or soft-pedaled (immigration, racial quotas). Red-meat issues have yielded to green eyeshades. And the GOP comes off looking like etiolated, bloodless bookkeepers.

But Mr. Buchanan's economic stance is troublesome. And it is an aspect not only of his economic position but also of his isolationism—America *v.* the world. He has rightly identified a strong vein of worry about the economic future among middle-class, especially blue-collar, Americans. These worries are real. But Buchanan's protectionist remedy is flat-out wrong: American workers benefit from selling their goods in global markets, and American consumers benefit from buying goods without the taxation of tariffs. Above all, John O. McGinnis points out in this issue what free trade protects: the American people, against high levels of government regulation and taxation.

But political disagreements, even fundamental ones, are the stuff of coalition politics every party must learn to live with. The GOP needs the votes of those attracted by Pat Buchanan in the primaries, and it is reassuring that he has promised to stay within the Republican party, the alternative being a nagging third party whose only accomplishment would be to keep the Democrats in power. There are, after all, many points on which the combatants can agree. Mr. Buchanan endorses a flat tax, his opponents have paid some deference to official English. Before the recent spate of negative ads, these men were all friends and occasional colleagues.

The anxieties that are appeased by calls for protectionism need to be dealt with. But that policy is uniquely divi-

Clinton's Big Maw

It gulps down what the Gipper said
And swallows stuff from Newt,
Then artfully regurgitates
The masticated loot.
It's thrown up balanced budgets and
Upchucked big government.
Let's get a liplock on before
It vomits all through Lent.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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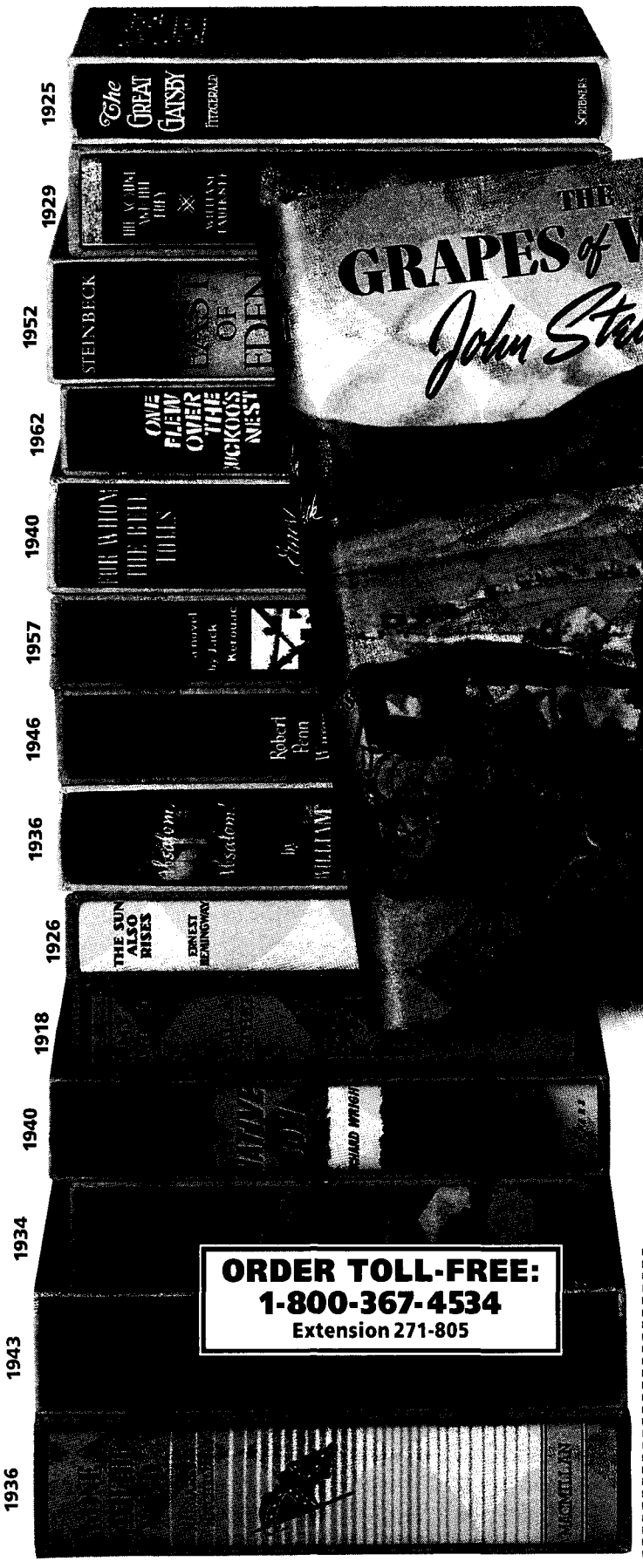

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sive in GOP ranks. The incomes of both low-paid and highly skilled workers have suffered from indiscriminate immigration policies and the prospects of white male workers are plainly hurt by race and gender quotas. Here are issues on which economic conservatives can give Pat Buchanan and his supporters more than they could get from the synthetic and short-term relief of tariff barriers. And if such a compromise unites the GOP, it would also split the Democrats, capturing more blue-collar voters than the Republicans have seen since the Gipper's heyday.

High stakes. The GOP establishment should play to win big, not hoard its chips for fear of losing. And so should Pat Buchanan.

A Guide to the Perplexed

IF Bill and Hillary Clinton were Cabinet members, they would have been forced from office by now. Their frequent unethical conduct and their embarrassingly empty memories would cause most Presidents to ask for their resignations. Instead, the Clintons are portrayed by their supporters as victims of partisan politics. Sen. Christopher Dodd (D., Conn.), a member of the Senate Whitewater Committee, demands that the Committee expedite its work and end its inquiry. Amen from Sen. Barbara Boxer (D., Calif.), also a member of the committee and, as it happens, a Clinton relative (her daughter married Hillary's brother).

Slowly but surely Whitewater closes in on the Clintons. The long-lost Rose Law Firm billing records show that, contrary to Mrs. Clinton's earlier denials, she had a significant relationship with the corrupt Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan *and* was involved in issuing legal advice related to Castle Grande—a fraudulent skein of real-estate deals intended to benefit several Clinton friends and political allies, including James and Susan McDougal (both of whom have been indicted), Arkansas Governor Jim Guy Tucker (who has been indicted), the late Senator J. William Fulbright, and Seth Ward (father-in-law to former Clinton Justice Department official Webster Hubbell, who is serving 21 months in a federal prison for defrauding clients while he was a partner with Hillary Clinton at the Rose Law Firm). If Mrs. Clinton had knowledge of these illegal activities, and sought to cover up her role, she could be vulnerable to criminal charges by Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr.

Mrs. Clinton need not fear the sudden appearance of additional billing records. She ordered files relating to Madison land contracts destroyed in 1988. And during the 1992 presidential campaign, Mr. Hubbell and the late Vincent Foster examined Madison billing files when the press began sniffing around Whitewater. Mr. Hubbell says he gave those records to Mr. Foster, who, being dead, is unable to explain their whereabouts. In 1993, just before the Clintons moved to the White House, Mr. Hubbell took additional files from the Rose Law Firm, without permission, and stored them at his own new home in Washington. Mr. Hubbell eventually gave those files to the Clintons' personal attorney while the Justice Department, where Hubbell was a top official, was reviewing criminal referrals while the Resolution Trust Corporation had named the Clintons as possible witnesses to, or beneficiaries of, Madison Guaranty's corrupt dealings. Of course, Mr. Hubbell should never have taken those files and stored them at his home. And, as a senior law-enforcement official, why did he give them to the Clintons' private lawyer, and not to his own Department?

Then there is the matter of Treasury officials, such as former Deputy Secretary Roger Altman and former General Counsel Jean Hanson, tipping off the White House about the RTC's investigation. Newly released notes show that in a January 1994 strategy meeting, White House officials plotted to make sure Beverly Basserr Schaffer, Arkansas's top bank regulator and a Clinton appointee, would tell the right "story" when asked about Mrs. Clinton's dealings with her in 1985 on behalf of Madison. The notes show Attorney General Janet Reno's concurrence to limit the scope of a special prosecutor, President Clinton calling for one.

Now a maze can be confusing without a map. Indeed, the Clintons hope all of this is too confusing for the voters. But the Clintons are wise to surround themselves with lawyers.

A Hand-Sized Cloud

With Yeltsin rotting from the head
And all his rivals colored red,
The White House views election day
(The Russian one) with some dismay
As Mr. Clinton, having bet
The ranch on Boris, fears the nyet
That, with the roses, comes in June,
Five months before his own High Noon.

—W. H. VON DREELE

Judge Not

JANUARY 24 was not a good day for the New York bench. A Federal District Court judge, Harold Baer Jr., threw out most of the evidence in a drug-dealing case. The police had searched a woman's car in Washington Heights, a notorious drug mart, after four men who had been loading duffel bags into it fled at the cops' approach. The officers found 75 pounds of cocaine and 4 pounds of heroin, and the lady confessed she had picked up twenty such cargoes during the last five years. But Judge Baer threw out the evidence and the confession, ruling that the police had had no reasonable grounds for

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60	$ 1,273	$ 1,633	$ 2,117
65	$ 2,145	$ 2,670	$ 3,452
70	$ 3,525	$ 4,895	$ 5,863
75	$ 6,155	$ 7,837	$10,774
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suspicion, since fleeing from the police in that neighborhood is common behavior.

On the same day, another Solomon, Judge Lorin Duckman of the Brooklyn Court of Appeals, reduced the bail for a young man who was in jail for beating his girlfriend, even though she insisted that he meant to kill her. The lover had a record of three felony convictions, including one rape, but Judge Duckman went easy on him, reasoning that there had been "no broken bones." Three weeks later, the man shot the woman to death.

Politicians huffed and puffed, but they have been doing that for decades. This time, a judge has joined the chorus. Harold Rothwax serves on the New York State Supreme Court, and yet seems to be sane, as witness his recent book, *Guilty*. That is what Judge Rothwax believes the system to be, for turning too many criminals loose. He proposes a number of reforms, such as abandoning Miranda rights, giving juries the right to make inferences from the silence of the accused, limiting the automatic jury challenges of attorneys, and replacing unanimous jury verdicts in criminal cases with 10 to 2 or 11 to 1 decisions.

Abandoning the requirement of a unanimous jury may be too radical—although Britain, where the jury system originated, introduced 10 to 2 verdicts without noticeable injustice. Still, the jury system is one of those profound discoveries of trial and error which should not lightly be subjected to the reforms of rationalists. That is not the case with Miranda rights, and all the other panoply of criminal-protection rulings. A little rationality in judicial selection would help too (Judge Baer is a Clinton appointee).

The Week in Verse

The news, when it came or to soothe or shock us
As frigid *Iowa* proceeded to caucus,
Was that at last the candidates' log-jam
Was broken with the exit of *Phil Gramm*.
On to *New Hampshire*!—and renewed fanfares
For musical (to change the figure) chairs.

At first 'twas *Forbes* the others all were not,
Till *Forbes* and his *Flat Tax* were quite forgot;
Then those remaining found upon the whole
Themselves agreed instead to be not-*Dole*.
New Hampshire spoke, and all at once they ran on
The single plank that they were not *Buchanan*.
At last it seemed the only man who'd won
Was that Great Patriot, not-*Anyone*.
Not "negative," "extreme," or even old,
He'd brav'd the winter's snows and not caught cold.
Was Alexander this spring's darling bud,
Whose greatest boast was not to have thrown mud?
At least that optimist was not complaining
About this form of negative campaigning.
Meanwhile there dogg'd the steps o'th'*GOP*
With non-campaign th'incumbent nullity,
Happy to claim as his new apophthegm
Whatever else he's not, he ain't them.

From far away and faintly came the word
That elsewhere some not-nothing had occurred.
In *Britain* hopes of peace were blown away
With new bombs planted by the *IRA*;
And evidence in *Bosnia* was found
Of *Muslim* fundamentalists around,
While bearding the Great Satan from *Iran*
Was that late penitent, *L. Farrakhan*.
But little ice was cut by foreign nations
With pols at home, attacking corporations.
Th'intelligence of man seemed quite askew:
Yet *Kasparov* defeated—just—*Deep Blue*.

—Juvenal

Thunder on the Coast

AS WE go to press, it looks as if the California Civil Rights Initiative has gained enough signatures to be on the ballot in November. This was by no means a sure thing, and the effort to round up a million signatures got off to a shaky start. But the campaign came together as the deadline approached, thanks to the splendid efforts of all concerned: Glynn Custred and Tom Wood, the two professors who devised the initiative; Haley Barbour and John Herrington, chairmen of the Republican national and state committees; and especially Ward Connerly, the courageous black businessman and University of California trustee, who took over the leadership of the petition drive when too many corporate types proved timid.

The campaign against the initiative has already turned dirty, as the usual charges of racism fill the air. What it would actually do is fulfill the color-blind promise of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which quotas have perverted. Here the precise language of the initiative should be held clearly in mind. It would ban discrimination against, or the granting of "preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin"—the language of the Civil Rights Act. It would not ban minority outreach, or job training.

According to recent polling, some 70 per cent of California voters favor it, obviously including many Democrats. The initiative promises to have seismic implications for the 1996 presidential election. Bill Clinton is committed to the preferences it would ban, and he must lead the fight against CCRI lest he bring down upon himself the fury of the entire left-liberal base of the Democratic Party, including Jesse Jackson, not to mention Sister Souljah. According to the mathematics of the election, however, Mr. Clinton cannot be re-elected without carrying California. He will now have to achieve this feat against the powerful tug of the Civil Rights Initiative which is

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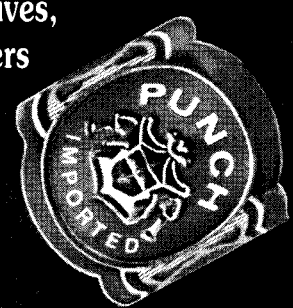

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popular with the original blue-collar base. His maneuvering should be fun to watch. Good luck!

Safety for EPA

NATIONAL REVIEW recently reported the Environmental Protection Agency's flagrant breach of the Clean Air Act in failing to produce cost/benefit assessments of the effects of the 1990 law. The latest cost/benefit stonewall concerns the Safe Drinking Water Act and a class of chemicals known generically as disinfection byproducts (DBP). Most of these are byproducts of chlorination of water, arguably the most effective public-health measure of the century. But while the World Health Organization says chlorinating water worldwide is its number-one health priority, the EPA is out to stop it here. Because mathematical modeling of the results of laboratory tests on mice shows that chlorine byproducts, like almost all chemicals, might cause some cancers, the EPA has released DBP rules that will effectively end chlorination.

The anti-chlorination drive has drawn almost unanimous condemnation from state and local health departments around the country, according to the *EPA Watch* newsletter; the North Carolina health department wrote the EPA a letter asking, "Have you gone nuts?" So was it the Clinton Administration and liberal Democrats who insisted on a Senate waiver, S-1316, to permit the EPA to go ahead? No—the EPA's dirty water was carried by Senate Environment Committee chairman John Chafee, reputedly a Republican.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I would like to invite you and Mrs. Buckley to the launch of space shuttle mission STS-76 from the Kennedy Space Center, the morning of March 21, 1996. Unfortunately, my crew will be departing the planet quite early that morning (3:30 A.M.), but I think that you would find the event most enjoyable to witness. Television does not come close to doing justice to a shuttle launch, particularly a night launch.

Sir, I am a great admirer of you and your work, and I have spent many a happy hour reading your books.

As a matter of fact, I often fly the T-38 with my backseater carefully reading to me from the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW. I discovered your sailing books prior to my first flight in 1992 and completed *Racing Through Paradise* shortly before the mission. While in orbit, I took vicarious pleasure in tracing your route across the Pacific by finding the various islands you visited along the way from my perch 200 miles above the earth. I love to sail, though lacking a vessel, I most often find myself imagining the pleasures of the experience through reading. And in this respect, your sailing books have certainly provided me ample enjoyment. Perhaps in some small way I can provide for you a vicarious way of enjoying a common goal, that being an "ascension" into the heavens. Mind you, I hope that a less exciting method will ultimately be provided you by our Creator.

If you can steer your way clear to attending the launch, you and Mrs. Buckley would be my very special guests. Should you not be able to attend, I would humbly ask you to please remember my crew and particularly my family in your prayers.

Sincerely,
[Col.] Kevin Chilton
LB3S Space Center
Houston, Tex.

Dear Colonel Chilton: That is quite the nicest letter I have ever received. I was there for the launch of Apollo #9 and #11; unforgettable. We can't be with you on March 21, but you will be in our thoughts and prayers. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Recently when receiving a paperback from one of my instructors, he disdainfully commented that, "This sounds like something I'd read in NATIONAL REVIEW." He looked quite puzzled when I thanked him for the compliment and inquired half seriously as to whether he is a regular reader. Judging from his reaction, I fear that he is not.

I probably should be grateful that I did not receive anything lower than a B considering that I attend Harvard University. Perhaps this is an example of "grade inflation." Would it have been any better at Yale?

Sincerely,
Chris Griffith
Harvard '97

Dear Mr. Griffith: Other than that, ex natura, *everything* is better at Yale. No, if you can follow me, which I barely can. Cordially, **—WFB**

Immigration Talk

Mr. Clinton, who's waving a wand to restore
Border sanctity won in the Mexican War,
Recalls Glinda the Good with a similar wand
Zapping witches for Judy—prefiguring Bond.
California and Texas, where Oz don't mean beans,
Are impatient with re-runs from Tinseltown scenes,
A condition the candidates wanly observe
As Buchanan (that devil) sticks pins in a nerve.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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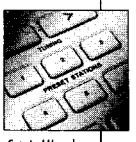

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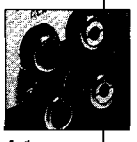

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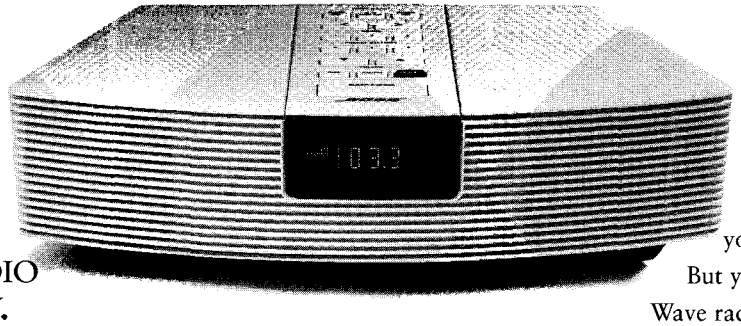

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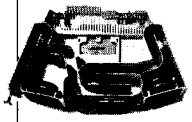

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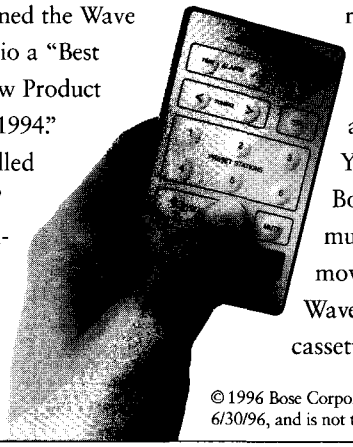

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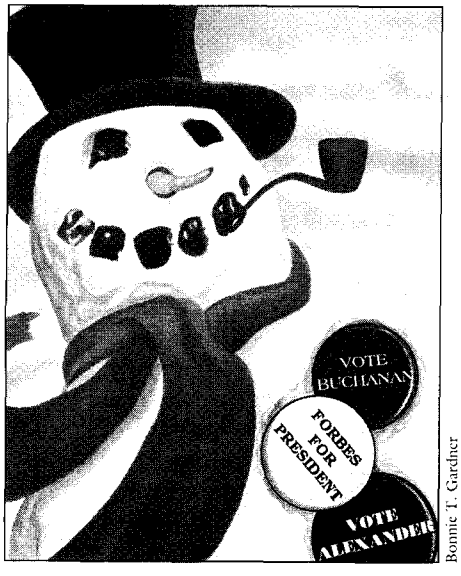
CAPITAL SCENE

The Spirit of '96

KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY & RAMESH PONNURU



Bonnie T. Gardner

NASHUA

AT A RALLY two days before the New Hampshire primary Pat Buchanan took the podium in a hotel ballroom flanked by siblings, nieces, and nephews—blood relatives there to enjoy his "conservatism of the heart." The crowd chanted "We want Pat! No more GATT!" as their candidate lit into the media and the Washington establishment. "When George Will started yapping at me like a little poodle," Buchanan told gleeful supporters, "I had to take the newspaper and roll it up and hit him with it." NAFTA, the World Trade Organization, the United Nations all took their licks. But one target escaped with only a few glancing blows: President Clinton. The political establishment the Buchanan Brigades are most concerned with toppling is the GOP.

George Will got off easy. Buchanan actually promised to skewer the "knights and barons" of the Republican party with "pitchforks" wielded by the "peasants" he's leading in revolt. The night of his victory, Buchanan emphasized a win for "a brand-new bold conservatism," that would take on "transnational corporations that have no loyalty to our country," before making the obligatory pledge to take back the White House. "We know what they're going to do to us," Buchanan warned the crowd. "The establishment is coming together. The fax machines and the phones are buzzing in Washington right now." In the days leading up to the primary Buchanan supporters were edgy, nervous that their candidate's rightful place as leader of the party would somehow be stolen away. Even in victory the feeling was still there: Pat *v.* the GOP.

If the Buchanan victory was stunning, it had also been prepared for him by the very establishment he reviles. Republicans still haven't come to terms with the rising influence of social conservatives in the party. They have left a host of cultural issues to be exploited by an insurgent, from immigration to affirmative action to abortion. If the primary season is any indication, these voters will no longer be satisfied with party leaders who offer no more than occasional lip service to the issues that concern them.

Buchanan is right about the battle he faces: if he continues to score victories, the party establishment will try to block him by uniting around someone else. The party isn't comfortable with his views, and it thinks he would lose humiliatingly to Clinton in November. Don't try to convince his supporters of that. Mike Hammond, Buchanan's New Hampshire chairman, dismisses talk of a Buchanan loss in November rivaling the 1964 GOP defeat. "Goldwater was not adept at communicating a message. Pat Buchanan is a pro," he asserts.

The dismissive talk about Buchanan can even be an asset. The Mileses, a retired couple, become more enthused about "Pat" the more the despised "Washington media" oppose him. Mrs. Miles declares, "If the Republican party doesn't support Pat, I'll vote for Clinton, I mean that." Despite his supporters loyalty, Buchanan almost certainly can't win the nomination outright in a two-man race. So Dole and Alexander are now in a wrestling match to become the candidate who can absorb Buchanan's legitimate issues while remaining acceptable to the majority of the party that recoils from him.

Buchanan's eventual rival will have to reckon with the surprising depth of his victory. Those who have tried to explain it away as an irrational spasm by anxious voters should look again. Buchanan won among the 43 per cent of voters making between $15-50,000 a year. The $50-75,000 vote split evenly among Alexander, Buchanan, and Dole. Buchanan only starts to lag among those making more than $75,000 (who backed Dole). Buchanan did as well among people saying their financial prospects are looking better as he did among those saying they were looking the same or worse. Education played a similar role to income: high-school graduates and voters with some college education backed Buchanan, college graduates split three ways, and only post-graduates rejected Buchanan.

THE pundits were right, however, about the importance of religious conservatives to Buchanan. They were only 17 per cent of New Hampshire voters, but a majority supported him. If self-described members of the Religious Right had not voted, Buchanan would have placed third. But just as important as Buchanan's social conservatism is the fact that he has convictions at all. Asked which characteristics of the candidates influenced their votes, more voters (a quarter of them) cited "standing up for his beliefs" than any other quality. Buchanan won a majority of them.

If the substance of Buchanan's positions appeals to the sort of people who show up to hear his speeches in hotel ballrooms—hooting at every reference to the New World Order—the mere fact that he is willing to stand up for them accounts for his appeal among a wider public. It makes him the anti-politician, the repository of all the stand-up virtues

Mrs. O'Beirne is NR's Washington editor. Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter. Mr. Ponnuru is NR's national reporter.

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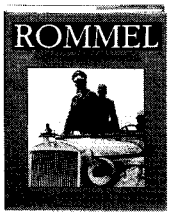

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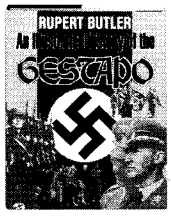

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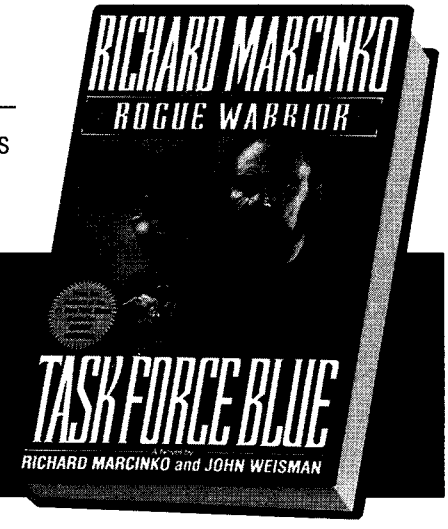

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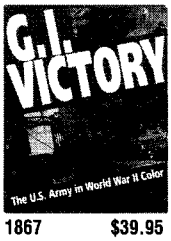

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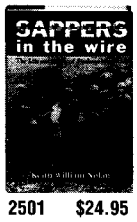

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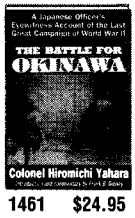

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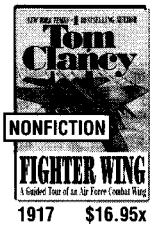

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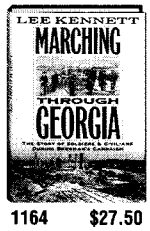

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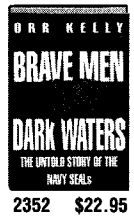

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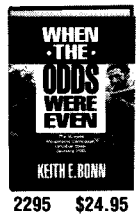

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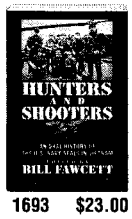

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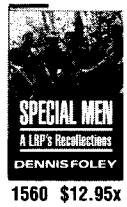

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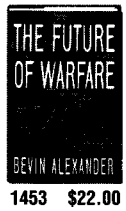

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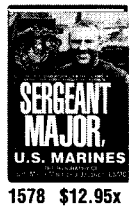

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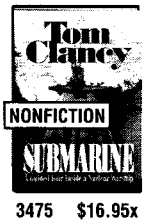

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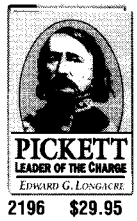

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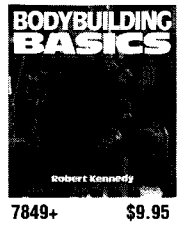

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the Washington politicians lack. The candidate's charm and campaigning skills—nobody evinces more sheer joy at being on the campaign trail than Buchanan—shouldn't be underestimated. His campaign aides are able to laugh, sincerely, at jokes they must have heard dozens of times before. And Buchanan himself can't repress chuckles in the midst of some of his harshest jeremiads.

WITH his slick, processed politics, Lamar Alexander would seem to represent everything that Buchanan despises about the GOP. There are no pitchforks, but plenty of plaid at Lamar Alexander's more subdued rallies. "Alexander's Band" sat patiently in pews like good Episcopalians at Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire a day before the primary, seemingly unconcerned with the need to man the drawbridge. Alexander's reassuring, pleasant demeanor is balm for Republicans seeking refuge from the relentless attack ads which Alexander decries (and can't afford).

While Alexander has been talking a good conservative game, his base is among party liberals and moderates. The Alexanderites at Phillips Exeter did not make a peep when he called for parental choice of schools, but the candidate's declaration of support for clean air and water was a big applause line. Alexanderites aren't adventurous people, and it's no surprise that voters seeking to avoid "extremism" in a nominee broke heavily for Alexander. Interestingly, Alexander won a third of the 16 per cent of the electorate that voted for Clinton in 1992; these voters accounted for a quarter of his support.

The conventional wisdom that Alexander is the strongest potential Republican candidate against Clinton took a beating in New Hampshire. Significantly more voters thought Dole could beat Clinton than thought Alexander could, and Dole beat Alexander among the third of voters who said electability was a factor in their vote. (This may change post-New Hampshire.) On the other hand, voters who were looking for a vision (15 per cent of them) went with Alexander. Independents split between Alexander and Buchanan. (Excluding independents, Buchanan and Dole would have been bunched up more than ten points ahead of Alexander.) But the Alexander campaign's predictions that they would win heavily among undecided voters were not borne out; just as many chose Dole. Another possible sign of weakness: he led among voters who aren't satisfied with the existing field.

Alexander positions himself against Dole and Buchanan as the candidate of new ideas—as opposed to no ideas or bad ideas. He nurtures Republicans' anxiety that Dole would be unarmed in a battle with Clinton. Audiences are instructed to "Remember your ABC's, and DEFG"—Alexander Beats Clinton, Dole, and Even Forbes and Gramm. Notably absent from the list is Pat Buchanan. And it's unlikely Alexander will get the chance to go *mano a mano* with the pugnacious pundit. Indeed, he's going to have trouble just surviving. Most observers think Alexander needed at least second place to refill his depleted campaign coffers. Still, with his third-place finish in New Hampshire, campaign aide Bill Cahill claims Alexander can head for friendly turf as the "natural candidate" of the South. But Buchanan is more culturally southern than Alexander. It's hard to find a state on the map Alexander is likely to win other than Tennessee.

Alexander has to hope that Buchanan will do the dirty work for him, knocking out Dole with a big win in a crucial state like South Carolina. Dole, on the other hand, can't count on anyone else to knock Alexander out of the race. New Hampshire would have been the ideal place to do it, but now Dole can only beat him through attrition—a risky course since after finishing off Alexander he'll have to beat Buchanan through attrition too.

The other candidate Dole has to dispatch is Steve Forbes. As long as Forbes commands double-digit support, he helps Buchanan at the expense of his serious rivals. Having entered the race to inject themes of hope, growth, and free enterprise, Forbes is now achieving the polar opposite of his initial desires; Buchanan won more of the pro-flat-tax vote than Forbes did.

Wearing opponents down doesn't look very attractive for Dole now that some in his camp are worried about their candidate bumping up against FEC primary spending caps; he's had to make early expenditures he never expected. Alternatively, pressure could be brought to bear on Alexander to leave the race if the party establishment concludes that his continued presence guarantees a Buchanan victory. Dole may offer Alexander the vice-presidential nomination—but this surely would stir the wrath of the Buchananites.

If Dole does manage to make it a two-man race, he'll need to develop a smarter strategy to defeat the Buchanan insurgency. In New Hampshire on the eve of the vote, Dole simply showcased his important friends and reminded the audience of his sacrifice and service. Well known to the party faithful before him, he recited his biography like a favorite uncle who retells stories about himself at every family gathering. This won't be sufficient against Buchanan's sharp and feisty campaign.

Nor will offering himself up as a milder version of Buchanan. Dole's attempt to mimic the Pat Buchanan–Robert Reich line on the economy (corporate profits are up, wages down) is a doubly misguided strategy: it sets up an argument Republicans can't win in November, and it will persuade no one who cares about these issues to move to Dole's camp. Buchanan has many supporters beyond the die-hard America First crowd because he sticks to his convictions; Dole won't win them over by fudging his. But he should be amplifying his social conservatism. Buchanan supporters do truly care about these issues and Dole has a record of supporting them.

AS THORNY a problem as Buchanan is for Dole, he's an even thornier one for conservatives. Buchanan's effort to remake conservatism in his image has much better odds than his assault on the GOP, as Buchanan is making himself the effective leader of the Right. Conservative leaders will have to think long and hard about the appropriate response. On the one hand Buchanan is leading a charge to force Republicans to address issues they have long championed. On the other hand, some of the positions which he is making central to his campaign are anathema to them. How does the Right resist, even as many in the grass roots are smitten by Buchanan? The wrong way to go about it is to attack Buchanan using liberal terms like "extremists" or "divisive." His supporters will interpret such attacks on him as attacks on them, which will only serve to bond his followers more closely to him.

The conservative movement faces some tough choices in the weeks ahead. More than at any time since 1964, the future of the conservative coalition—and the nation—hangs in the balance. □

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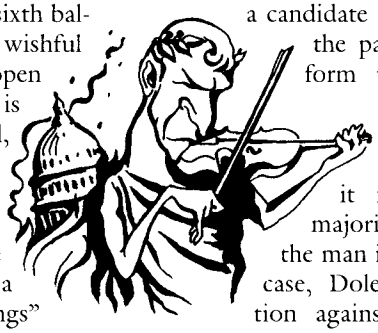
BREAD & CIRCUSES

SOME conservatives in a quiet Washington are watching the presidential primaries with a sense of despair, but others have permitted themselves a dose of wishful thinking and are talking in whispered tones about the prospect of a brokered convention to choose the nominee. It would be the first one since Wendell Willkie was picked on the sixth ballot in 1940. Even these wishful thinkers grant that an open convention in San Diego is unlikely. Morton Blackwell, one of the GOP's most seasoned strategists, dismisses all talk of a brokered convention because experience tells him that a kind of "law of the lemmings" operates in primaries: "As soon as one candidate creates a widely perceived win psychology, too many people will jump on his bandwagon for fear of being left behind." He argues that present-day candidates run national campaigns and so brokered conventions belong to a bygone era of regional candidates and favorite sons.



Yet this year's unique circumstances and candidates increase the possibility that no one will be able to secure the 996 delegates needed to win the nomination. A number of candidates have the ability to go the distance and each of them enjoys the support of distinct factions within the party. Bob Dole has the party support and funding to contest in every state, Pat Buchanan is a man on a mission and his enthusiastic grassroots supporters can deliver delegates (California?), Steve Forbes's message and money could be focused in key states to win his share of the votes (Arizona, New York, Maryland?), and Lamar Alexander hopes that his moderate, "none of the above" appeal will grow through the end of March.

Another important circumstance is the astonishing weakness of all the contenders combined. The very low turnout in the Iowa caucuses seems to indicate that building a field doesn't ensure the crowd will come. And there's no shortage of Republicans worried about the ability of any of the present candidates to defeat Bill Clinton. But there's an even deeper structural problem with the field. Brokered conventions happen when each candidate is opposed by a majority of the party. That's true of Buchanan, Forbes, Alexander, and potentially Dole. Whenever it looks like a candidate could break out from the pack, a majority could form to "stop Buchanan" (or whomever). The trouble with this scenario is that it is hard to form a majority movement to stop the man in the middle—in this case, Dole—because the coalition against him may be too unprincipled to hang together. Furthermore, these shifting majorities would have to form and re-form in a very short period of time. Following the New Hampshire primary, the candidates left standing will be "riding the rapids" as 32 states select over 60 per cent of the delegates in the next five weeks. Nevertheless, the open convention conspirators believe that the GOP establishment, social conservatives, supply-siders, and moderates could fail to rally behind a single candidate and so delegates remain split among three or four contenders.

If GOP factions remain split and a strong front-runner doesn't quickly emerge, a few favorite sons could get a case of the nerves and elect to keep their options open until San Diego. Governors intent on nominating the strongest possible candidate in a year with the potential for an historic political alignment could elect to run themselves in order to hold their states' delegates until San Diego. The GOP convention would then become very interesting.

An open convention, in which no candidate had united economic and social conservatives, would be open to a number of appeals. Proven winners like John Engler of Michigan and Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin would seem like natural choices to those who want to win above all else. In addition, they are almost as conservative as most of the delegates. These small-government, pro-life officeholders could appear safe, if uninspiring, to a party which had been in turmoil for the months leading up to the convention. They would also enjoy broad support in back rooms from their fellow governors, now a force to be reckoned with in GOP circles.

Others would see an opportunity for heavyweights who decline to run this year, like Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett, to reenter the race. But Kemp and Bennett, as supporters of Proposition 187, would not be hot favorites in a convention held in San Diego, only a runner's mile from the Mexican border. And both Buchanan supporters and other social conservatives would be deeply suspicious of old favorites like Bennett who allied himself with moderate Lamar Alexander, or Kemp who has all but abandoned their message in recent years.

The delegates could call on a reliable Reaganite like former Senator Bill Armstrong of Colorado, who combines Christian-Right principles with Reagan's easy-going charisma. Although he'd suffer from being unknown to many delegates, he'd enjoy Forbes's outsider appeal and is a religious conservative with impeccable small-government credentials.

But what about economic conservatives?

THE enormously popular Majority Leader Dick Armey is well-known within the party and he too might unite conservatives with a free-market populist tone on a platform of radical tax reform. As a fellow Texan, Armey might take the place of Phil Gramm whose appeal to all conservatives has been undermined by his failure on the campaign trail. Other candidates who have a broad across-the-party appeal include Dick Cheney and Pete du Pont. But do either of them arouse the fervent support needed to get a bandwagon rolling?

One danger for conservatives is that the media would resurrect the Colin Powell candidacy in "we-told-you-so" tones. Of course, the convention is likely to be heavily conservative and so resistant to the charms of an establishment moderate. But recall: A conservative convention was seduced by media sirens into nominating their candidate in 1940—a liberal one-worlder called Wendell Willkie. —KATE O'BEIRNE

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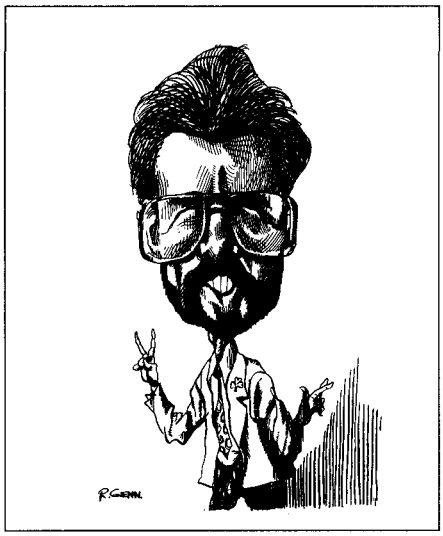
ON THE SCENE

Peace in Pieces

KEVIN MYERS



Roman Genn

ULSTER

WHEN President Clinton came to Ireland before Christmas, he had to cut short his triumphal visit because of Bosnian obligations. But he promised cheering crowds that he would return in the summer, to play his postponed round of golf in Ballybunion, in Kerry, and to celebrate the peace which he had helped bring to Ireland.

The President seemed to have every right to rejoice. American pressure had caused the Irish and the British governments to keep the peace process trundling forward. Round-table talks were scheduled for the end of February, and a special commission headed by special advisor George Mitchell would examine the thorny issue of disarmament, which had been brought to center-stage by British and unionist insistence that talks could only start once disarmament had been begun. This was a demand which Sinn Fein-IRA flatly rejected.

Most commentators wrote that the President's visit had saved the peace process; even I thought that crunch-time had been postponed until the end of February. How wrong we all were.

The American contribution to the peace process remained vigorous, both at diplomatic levels in Washington and through George Mitchell, who was indefatigable in his canvassing of opinions in Britain and Ireland. His report—when finally presented a week late—was superb, and written in an English of admirable clarity and incisiveness.

Yet it came to nothing. Two weeks and two days after the Mitchell Commission reported, and with three weeks still to go before the scheduled talks, the ceasefire ended. The IRA blew London docklands apart one Friday rush-hour, killing two citizens and injuring over a hundred others. We passed a new and terrible threshold when that happened and back over that threshold no passage is possible. We cannot return to what we were before that bomb. The peace process which had been so carefully nurtured, cossetted, and fed died as completely as the dead of the IRA bombers.

The very next day, in the IRA heartland of South Armagh where scores of soldiers and policemen have been killed in the past twenty-five years, the IRA restored jeering signs to warn soldiers—*Snipers at work*. The snipers have not yet returned to their lethal industry, but the soldiers' body-armor is back on, the safety catches are off their SA-80 rifles, and the affable pre-docklands saunter has been replaced by foot-patrol stealth.

How did we come to this dismal pass? Nationalist Ireland blames John Major. Did he not present Sinn Fein-IRA with impossible conditions? Did he not reject the Mitchell Report on the decommissioning of weapons? Did he not take the unionists' side against nationalist Ireland?

No. John Major did not do most of the things he is accused of, but that simple truth has been lost in the din of dispute and wailing ambulances. John Major did not present Sinn Fein-IRA with impossible conditions. Quite the reverse. He accepted the Mitchell Report on the decommissioning of weapons the morning of its publication, thereby abandoning his long-held precondition that the IRA must begin disarmament before talks.

He did not abandon the *aspiration* that this should happen. And in the absence of the paramilitaries abandoning their guns before talks, he suggested a mechanism which could bring confidence to the people of Northern Ireland—he proposed that all those who wish to participate in round-table talks receive a mandate from the people in Northern Ireland to do so. This was the proposed convention which has caused such indignation.

It might not have been the most sensible idea; but to consult people democratically about something as vital as round-table talks is hardly heinous. There might be practical objections, but surely there is no *principled* opposition to discovering the general feelings of people in Northern Ireland.

The unionist population favored a convention; so too, in opinion polls, did most nationalists. If there was error in the proposal, it was not Major's alone—and it was error, not Brit-Machiavellianism. But John Major's fragile majority in the House of Commons was adduced as a reason why he should attempt to conciliate unionists with a generosity which could scupper peace.

THE truth is that all factions in this process have to be conciliated. Nationalist Ireland sometimes seems to think that the only people to get to the round-table are Sinn Fein-IRA. Not true. All the factions in Northern Ireland—and there are many of them—have to be represented. And the two main Protestant parties, the Ulster Unionists and the Democratic Unionists, have said that they will not sit down with a still-armed Sinn Fein-IRA; but they said they would enter a convention containing elected Sinn Fein members.

That is a start, and not a bad one. And it is worth pointing out that the British government has *not* refused to meet Sinn Fein-IRA representatives. Quite the reverse. The British government has had an open-door policy toward Sinn Fein-IRA. A known IRA Army Council member has been present for most of

Mr. Myers is a columnist for the Irish Times.

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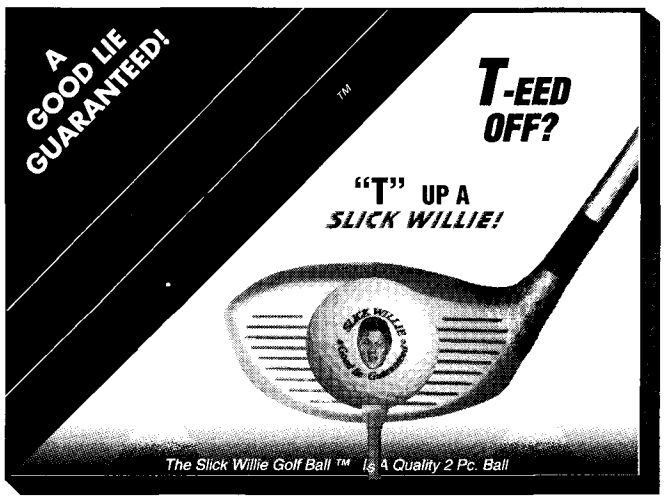

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those talks. Only two weeks before the London bombing, the British and Irish governments jointly hosted a tripartite conference with Sinn Fein, during which the republicans were able to make a full presentation of their case.

The British government was not the only government in sympathy with elections before talks. White House officials told Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams early in February that the convention idea might be worth considering. This was the day Mr. Adams met and was photographed with the President. It was the day when the President publicly endorsed Sinn Fein's role in the peace process.

Nine days before, the very day that George Mitchell unveiled his commission report, the IRA had actually begun the operation which was to end two lives in London and do $150 million damage to London's docklands. On January 24, a tax-disc was stolen from a truck in Northern Ireland and used as a cover for the truck used in that bombing. The man the President met was not the leader of an organization dedicated to peace. That organization, the creature with two names and two outward appearances but one inner core, Sinn Fein-IRA, was already embarked upon its return to war.

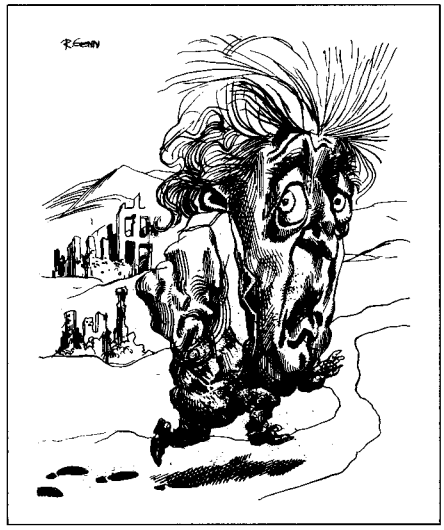
Did Gerry Adams know this? In detail almost certainly not. But he was probably aware of the general closeness to war the IRA had come; the President of the United States shook the hand of this man. Another such handshake is unlikely to occur again.

Why did the IRA blow the peace process apart? Because it had come to the end of the line. Elections would only reveal the smallness of Sinn Fein's support within Northern Ireland, a state Sinn Fein-IRA are determined still to bring to an end. That fixed goal, the dissolution of the Northern Irish State, the departure of the British, and the unification of Ireland, remains at the heart of the Sinn Fein-IRA dream.

So what next? The Irish government has said it will have no further talks with Sinn Fein until the ceasefire is restored. But what kind of ceasefire will keep people happy? The ceasefire we lost was "complete." So what will replace it? Another "complete" ceasefire? Or will we get neither peace nor war? In either case, we shall get no political progress at all. The unionists of Northern Ireland will not sit at the same table as Sinn Fein-IRA this year; and President Clinton will probably not be playing golf in Ballybunion this summer. □

Show Time

RADEK SIKORSKI



Roman Genn

LONDON

EVERY time I land at JFK, I fill out an immigration form which asks, rather disarmingly, whether I am an terrorist, carry drugs, or whether I was "involved in any way in persecutions associated with Nazi Germany or its allies." I've always wondered whether anybody has ever ticked the 'yes' box on the form and explained that, well, now, since you ask so politely, I am actually the former commander of Majdanek.

And what, I also wonder when I fill out those forms, if I were a retired commander of a Soviet labor camp, on a visit to New York to draw on my account at one of those discreet establishments on Park Avenue? Judging by the number of times one hears Russian spoken while shopping at Brooks Brothers these days, the likelihood must be that several former Communists with much to forget have been among former Soviet citizens admitted into the United States in the last few years. But if I were a Soviet butcher, I would not even need to lie.

It is the same in Britain. The first war-crimes trial in the country's history is due to start this month. A Mr. Szymon Serafinowicz, 84, stands accused of having personally shot several Jews in wartime Belarus as a member of a Nazi-allied local militia. Whatever the final verdict will prove to be, the case is a poignant one. One of the murders Mr. Serafinowicz stands accused of committing took place in Mir, a quiet town in Belarus I visited not so long ago. It has a ruined Radziwill castle beside a lake, an old church, and a row of wooden houses which were once inhabited mostly by Jews. Almost four thousand once lived in the area. Mr. Serafinowicz was supposed to have shot one of them in the street in broad daylight.

The other striking feature of Mir is that it is not so far away from Kuropaty, a village near which the bodies of 300,000 victims of Soviet purges lie in mass graves. When the NKVD swept into the area in 1939, one of the methods of selecting the targets was by getting hold of a local telephone directory. They arrested everyone in it. Anyone rich enough to own a telephone was clearly a class enemy. Anybody with more than basic education met similar fate. Anybody who had hands unspoiled by manual labor, was immediately suspect. Furthermore, since Jews were after all the bourgeoisie of provincial Belarus before the war, almost never tilling the land, it is safe to presume that there are several thousand Jewish corpses among those at Kuropaty as well.

But Soviet perpetrators of Kuropaty could not be prosecuted. Britain's War Crimes Act of 1991 only applies to British citizens and defines a war crime as "committed during the period beginning with 1st September 1939 and ending with 5th June 1945 in a place which at the time was part of Germany or under German occupation." In other words, whether mass murder is a war crime depends on who committed it. Octogenarians suspected of being Nazis will be hounded till their last days. Others needn't worry.

The Nazi holocaust is particularly horrible because it selected its victims on the basis of race, something that an individual is powerless to alter. Communist persecution on the basis of class seems less arbitrary because people can change their class and thus survive. But what difference did it make to a shopkeeper in Mir whether he was shot in the woods by the Nazis as a Jew, or shot in the woods by the Communists as a bourgeois bloodsucker? In theory, he could survive the Communist purges by

Mr. Sikorski is NR*'s roving correspondent.*

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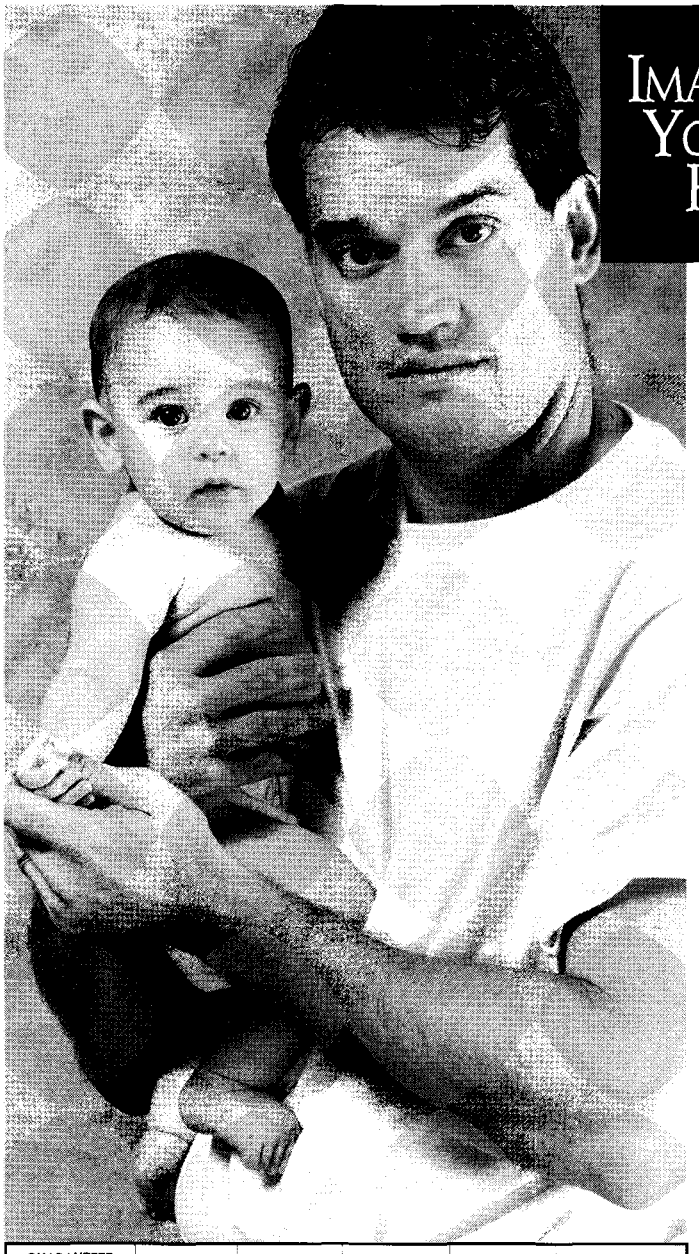

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changing his class position. But I have never heard of the NKVD asking its victims: "As a capitalist, you have been classed as an enemy of the people, Mr. Goldberg, and you will be on the next train to Kolyma, but if you declare that you now wish to be a peasant, you may go free." In practice your class position defined your destiny almost as strictly as race or religion, and the chances of survival were almost as slim.

SINCE we do not pursue Soviet criminals, shouldn't we lay off old Nazis as well? After all, it has been half a century, memories are faint, convictions are unlikely to be safe, and to pursue such old men risks looking more like vengeance than justice. We don't want "show trials," do we. Simon Wiesenthal may have been right in his time, but enough is enough.

Actually, Wiesenthal did little more than follow the 1943 declaration by the wartime allies that war criminals should be pursued "to the end of time." Pursuing former Nazis was not vengeance, he argued, but "giving voice to those robbed of life who cannot speak for themselves." Personally, if I were murdered by a bunch of fanatics, whatever their ideology, I would definitely hope that someone of Wiesenthal's tenacity would go after them and bring them to book. When piles of corpses keep being discovered hidden in the woods, this is not a time for repudiating Wiesenthal's legacy, but for learning from it.

Instead of abandoning the pursuit of old Nazis, we should extend the pursuit to their more recent imitators. That the international war-crimes tribunal convened for the prosecution of war criminals in the former Yugoslavia is a vindication of Wiesenthal's work. It should be made permanent, given vastly greater resources, and backed to the full by all civilized governments. It is not just a matter of justice. Pursuing war criminals to the end of time could become a uniquely effective method of promoting respect for peace and human rights around the world.

Naturally, we could not go after each accused individually. But this would not be necessary. It would suffice to put such men, including suspected Communists, on an international "wanted" list together with terrorists and drug traffickers. They may evade justice for years, but their lives—and opportunities to cause further mischief—would be circumscribed. They might not end up inside our jails but, like the mutineers on the Bounty, they would start serving time by being excluded from the civilized world. When they do fall into our hands, we would charge and try them publicly, so that others get to hear of it and are discouraged. To denounce this as "show trials" would miss the point. What was bad about Stalin's show trials was not that they were public, but that the evidence was cooked and verdicts pre-arranged. Nuremberg, which was definitely a show trial, produced fair sentences.

The moral argument apart, it would work. Ever since they were indicted, Messrs. Mladic and Karadzic, who stand accused of responsibility for ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, have gone strangely quiet. No longer do their faces grace our television screens, taunting the might of the West. Revealingly, Gen. Mladic, commander of the Serb Bosnian army, haggled over the release of two French pilots his forces had shot down last summer, trying to negotiate their return home in return for lifting the indictment. In other words, he is worried about it. He is taking it into account in what he does. If the indictment is discouraging him from committing any more outrages, it is already saving lives.

It would also be cost-effective. Let the trial of each suspect cost $3 million, accounted for mostly by travel expenses for prosecutors and witnesses, which could be reduced if video link-ups were permitted. Let's also assume that it takes a decade and a hundred prosecutions before the Ratko Mladics, Saddam Husseins, and Idi Amins of this world start taking notice. To be on the generous side, let's say we would spend half a billion dollars before results start coming through. This compares with the UN's budget of $8 billion per annum, of which only 10 per cent is spent on useful things like peacekeeping. The expense would be more than covered if we liquidated a couple of paper-churning irrelevancies such as the UN Decolonization Committee (yes, it still exists) or the ILO. If one of the conflicts that eventually requires our intervention—Somalia, Haiti, Kuwait, or Bosnia—fails to occur, that would be a pure gain.

Needless to say, such a permanent war-crimes tribunal would interfere with the principle of sovereignty. So it should. We already interfere with sovereignty when we think it fit. The U.S. Air Force denies Saddam Hussein the right to gas any more Kurds in Iraq. We imposed sanctions on the apartheid regime in South Africa. We cajoled the Soviet Union into signing the human-rights "basket" of the Helsinki accord, and protested when it was violated. We no longer believe that rulers have the right to torture, persecute, or exterminate people so long as they do it within their own borders. Otherwise, the Council of Europe, or the UN human rights charter, would make no sense. The tribunal would at last give our words credibility. It's the least we owe to the memory of the victims of tribalism, Nazism, and Communism, and the best way to prevent their recurrence. □

Choctaw Uprising

PETER J. FERRARA

MISSISSIPPI

THIRTY years ago, the Choctaw Indian tribe in rural Mississippi suffered from the same legacy of poverty, dependency, and despair that has plagued American Indians across the country for over a century. They regularly suffered from 75 per cent unemployment, and those that did work were poorly compensated sharecroppers. Eighty-five per cent of Choctaw housing was classified as substandard. Local education stopped at the sixth grade. The only health care was from a nearby federally run hospital. Life expectancy was only 45 to 50 years, and infant mortality was among the highest in the U.S. A local newspaper called the Choctaw tribe, "the worst poverty pocket in the poorest state of the union."

But then Chief Philip Martin rose to tribal leadership. Today, the Choctaws are an economic powerhouse, the proprietors of a sprawling, multi-enterprise, industrial empire. They are the largest employer in Neshoba county, and among the ten largest employers in the whole state.

How did they do it? They did it the

Mr. Ferrara is general counsel and chief economist for Americans for Tax Reform.

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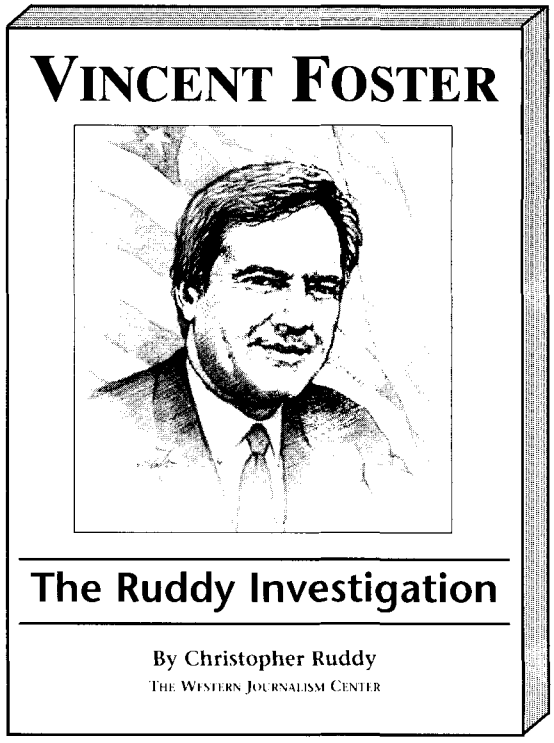

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old-fashioned way—capitalism. After Martin became chief in 1959, he realized that the Choctaws were never going to climb out of poverty through government handouts and welfare. He saw that the only way out was to create real jobs in the private sector.

Martin doggedly contacted five hundred firms before he attracted his first manufacturing customer to the reservation. In 1979, the Choctaws opened a 42,000 square-foot plant that assembled automotive wire harnesses for General Motors. Today, the Choctaws employ almost 1,000 people building wire harnesses for Ford.

BUT this was only the beginning. Another 60,000 square-foot plant on the reservation produces speakers for Ford, Chrysler, and McDonnell-Douglas, with annual sales close to $30 million. Another plant employs 175 workers producing cables for Ford and Chrysler and circuit boards and other electronic units for AT&T, Xerox, Westinghouse, and Navistar.

Still another plant employs 150 workers assembling and hand-finishing greeting cards for American Greetings. Another enterprise produces close to one million pieces of plastic cutlery a day for McDonalds. The Choctaws also own and operate the largest volume printer in the gulf area, in another 72,000 square-foot plant. They also run a construction company and their own shopping center. And last year, the Choctaws opened their newest enterprise—the $38 million Silver Star Hotel and Casino.

A few Indian tribes have achieved great economic success with gaming enterprises. But what makes the Choctaws the most interesting is that they have blazed the path to economic independence with highly diversified industrial and commercial operations. All told, the Choctaws now operate 12 major businesses on tribal lands. These enterprises are expected to generate over $300 million in sales this year.

As a result, unemployment among the Choctaws is now below 20 per cent. Average family income has climbed from $2,000 per year twenty years ago to over $13,000 today. Remarkably, only 2.7 per cent of household income among the Choctaws comes from welfare or other social programs. The average educational level of tribal members has climbed from 6th grade in 1975 to almost 12th grade today. Substandard housing among the Choctaws is down to 15 per cent from 85 per cent. Life expectancy has soared to 65 to 75 years, and infant mortality has plummeted to the national average.

The tribe also manages its own reservation government. Under a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the tribe operates six elementary schools, a middle school, and a high school, serving 1,400 students overall. Under a contract with the Indian Health Service, the tribe runs a 43-bed hospital and several community clinics. The tribe also manages its own water, sewer, and waste-disposal systems.

All of these government functions are financed without tribal taxes. The tribe uses revenue from its business operations, fees for some directly provided services, and federal funds the government is obligated to provide by treaty.

The Mississippi Choctaws have a heritage of grit and determination. They are descended from those remnants of the Choctaw nation that managed to stay behind when President Andrew Jackson forcibly relocated most Choctaws to Oklahoma in 1830. But a large measure of their current success is simply explained by the high quality of their work. For example, the national rejection rate for all U.S. factories making wire harness systems is 3 per 1,000. In Japan, the rate is 2.5 per 1,000. But at the Choctaw reservation, the rate is only 0.8 per 1,000. As a result, Ford rates the Choctaw plants Q-1 among the top quality plants in the nation. Ford and Chrysler have together granted six quality performance awards to Choctaw plants.

Another advantage, however, has been key to their success as well. The Choctaw reservation, like other Indian reservations, is effectively an enterprise zone. Because the tribes are considered sovereign governmental units, their reservations are exempt from state and local taxes and regulations. This means businesses, Indian workers, and transactions on the reservations are exempt from state and local sales, property, and income taxes. Though federal law is supreme, enterprises owned by the tribe on the reservations are also exempt from federal taxes and many federal regulations. In addition, tribes rarely impose their own taxes.

Moreover, because tribes provide their own public services, they can make those services as attractive as possible to potential businesses. Businesses can also cut a simple deal directly with the tribe, and not be hassled by additional zoning permits, business licenses, and construction permits. Running their own civil courts, the tribes can and do exempt reservation businesses from the tort madness that plagues the rest of the country.

For years, conservative Republicans and many Democrats have advocated enterprise zones for the nation's economically distressed areas. Martin's reign among the Choctaws shows how dramatically successful this policy can be.

Yet, incredibly, some are advocating changes that will undermine rather than extend these successful policies. The House Republican budget inexplicably included a provision to impose a new federal tax on Indian gaming revenues, ranging from 14 to 35 per cent. The new tax would have foolishly reversed an enterprise zone-like policy that is leading Indians out of long-standing government dependency to economic self-sufficiency. Fortunately, Martin spearheaded a successful campaign to kill the tax.

Instead of promising new federal taxes and regulations, Republicans and alert Democrats should embrace the stunning Choctaw economic success as a model for Indians across the country. They should support and extend wherever possible the current, effectively free-market enterprise zone policy for Indian reservations, and encourage Indians across the country to utilize it as successfully as the Choctaws have. With Indians increasingly employed in well-paying private-sector jobs, the billions the Federal Government currently spends on welfare and similar assistance for Indians would be sharply reduced.

IN addition, Congressional leaders should take up Chief Martin's proposed reforms of the BIA. The BIA's $1.5 billion annual budget is mostly wasted on self-serving bureaucrats the Indians despise, with only 10 to 15 per cent of the agency's funds reaching the tribes. The Choctaws, and other tribes, have proved that the Indians can more effectively use this money themselves.

In fact, Congress should go one step further, and block grant the BIA to the tribes. For a time, tribes could use the funds for the programs they each thought best. And then the BIA should simply be abolished.

The experience of the Choctaws shows that the future of American Indians is bright, as long as the Federal Government gets out and stays out of the way. □

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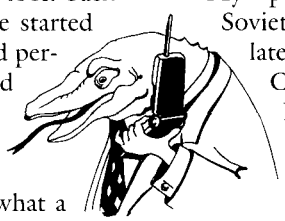
AS I have been foolish enough to make rate and price predictions over the past six months, I thought it might be time to look back and see how Gekko did. (I've started referring to myself in the third person after listening to recorded Bob Dole speeches.)



So far, not so bad.

Back in the July 31 issue, I suggested that contrary to what a group of economists was saying in the *Wall Street Journal*, wheat was a buy at $4.43 a bushel. Russian and Chinese buying, along with low inventories, has now driven the price to $5.21 on the March contract. Also, I said that the copper market manipulators who were rigging the market to keep the price close to $1.40 a pound were bound to fail big. The nearby copper futures contract just closed at $112.50 a pound—no fun if you switched to *The Weekly Standard* and stayed long. You have only yourself to blame.

On August 14, Gekko said to ignore the bad news about defaulted Soviet bank debt, then trading at 28 cents on the dollar. A deal would be done to refinance Russia, and the paper would be in the low 40s by the end of the first quarter. Well, a deal has been struck, at least in outline form, and Vnesheconombank paper is up at 36¾. My 40+ target still looks do-able by earlier April. In the same issue, I noted the coming failures in the Japanese financial sector (this was before the Daiwa Bank revelations), and suggested that the consequent bailout would make Japanese stocks a buy. The Nikkei index was then at 16,500; now it's up around 20,800.

In the August 28 issue, I said that Windows 95 would be a major disappointment and that it would be a good time to dump your technology funds. All true. There's been a dead cat bounce in the tech stocks lately, but there's still bad news to be absorbed.

The advice in the September 11 issue: buy gold in one form or another. At the time, the metal was going for $382.35 the ounce. Today, it's $407.50 The stocks have done even better.

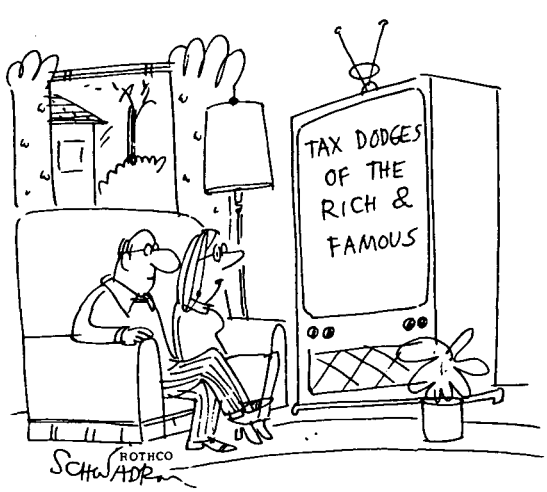
My positive sentiments about Soviet bank debt did not translate into support for Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Russian Prime Minister and first-class thief. In the September 25 issue, I said his party "Our Home is Russia," would lose the December elections. They did, bringing in single digit results despite massive bribes and heroic ballot box stuffing.

But it was here that I allowed my profound suspicion of the government to get ahead of cold blooded calculation. In the October 9 issue, I said that Gekko saw the Treasury bond going down—"if not now then not long from now." I was early. The March T-bond futures contract continued to rally right up to the beginning of the year, when it topped out without getting past the critical level of 122, or 5¾ per cent.

At year's end, I was reassuring nervous telecom bulls the telecommunications reform act would pass. It did.

But now I think it might be time for the Infobahn investors to get out. There may still be some upside, but when I see Worldcom selling at 42 and change—it's been overdone.

And I believe that the U.S. Government's debt has finally entered a long bear market. Mr. Bond is now tied firmly to the table while a laser beam moves to bisect him. And the gold bulls are laughing and passing witty remarks.



■ Speaking of gold, since early November Gekko has been on the side of those who point to the Brazilian Central Bank as the short-sellers who have been attempting to protect their deteriorating position. Now that the metal has broken out of the narrow range it held last year, the Carnival-maddened Latins have been flinging around accusations of market manipulation on the part of innocents such as yours truly and his friends.

At the beginning of February, the Bank said it would ask the U.S Commodity Futures Trading Commission to investigate rumor mongers—I guess that includes us—who had talked about Brazil's speculative position. The CFTC in turn said it hadn't received any such requests.

And it doesn't matter if it does. The CFTC does not have jurisdiction over the dealer markets and overseas banks through which the Brazilians dealt. Nobody ever suggested that the Brazilians had misused, or even properly made much use of, the U.S. futures and options exchanges. This red herring only raises more suspicions.

In the meantime, the Brazilians have publicly taken credit for the short-term correction in the gold price from $417 to $401. This move came after they announced they were pulling out of the gold market. Apparently that manipulation would have been O.K. Joubert Furtado, a Brazilian government spokesman, said in mid February that "It should go down to $380." Pathetic.

■ Anne Williamson, my best source of Russian news, tells me that the state procurator general is drawing up criminal charges against former members of Yeltsin's government for their corrupt roles in the Russian "privatiziations." After encountering a crowd of rich Russians at the Chanel boutique at Bergdorf Goodman, I called the Russian Embassy to see if they will pursue the erstwhile Western favorites over here. "We don't have an extradition treaty yet," replied a spokesman. "There is no way for us to tell what the reaction of the U.S. Government would be if we asked them to extradite these people." Maybe we'll find out soon.

—JOHN DIZARD

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turns bullish on utility stocks. The rest of the world only cared about go-go stocks with low yields. ***What happened?*** The utilities provided a 20 percent return over the next five months.

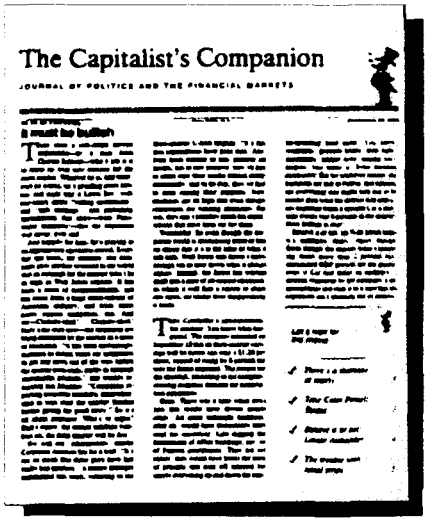
9/8/95: The Companion predicts that the technology stocks will lag the market. At the time, the stocks were thought to be "new growth stocks" that would never go down again. ***What happened?*** Tech stocks fell by anywhere from 20% to 60% in four months.

9/29/95: The Companion explains why Colin Powell's political career is headed nowhere. The consensus was that the GOP nomination was Powell's for the asking. ***What happened?*** Powell bowed out—to nearly everyone's surprise but ours.

8/18/95: The Companion explains why Disney's acquisition of Cap Cities/ABC is a bad deal for Disney shareholders. The consensus was that the combination would be unbeatable. ***What happened?*** Over the next six months, Disney lagged the market by nearly 10%.

11/25/94: The Companion urges its readers to buy bonds. The 30-year Treasury bond was yielding more than 8% . . . and the rest of Wall Street believed that it will soon yield 9%-plus. ***What happened?*** Long-term yields fell by nearly 200 basis points over

Who wins? Our readers.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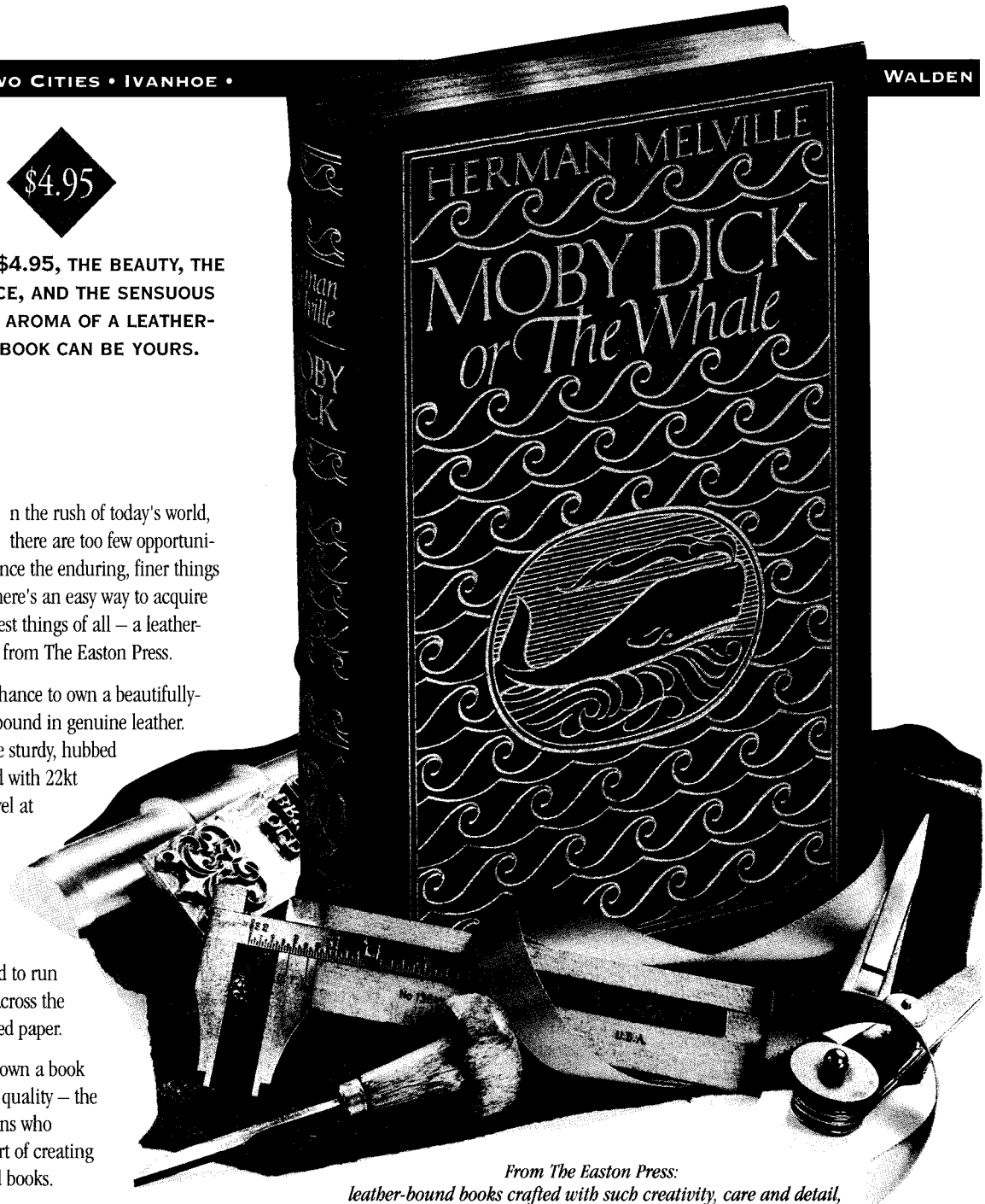

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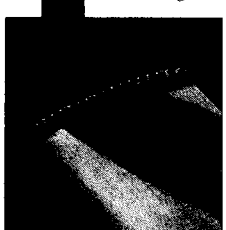

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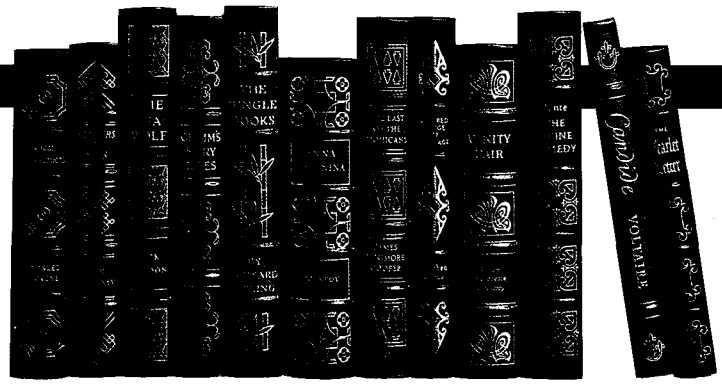

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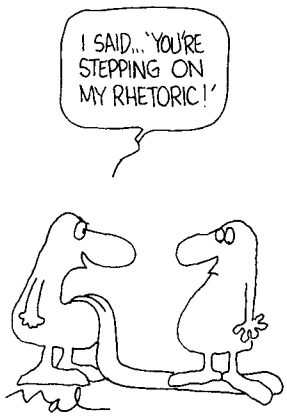

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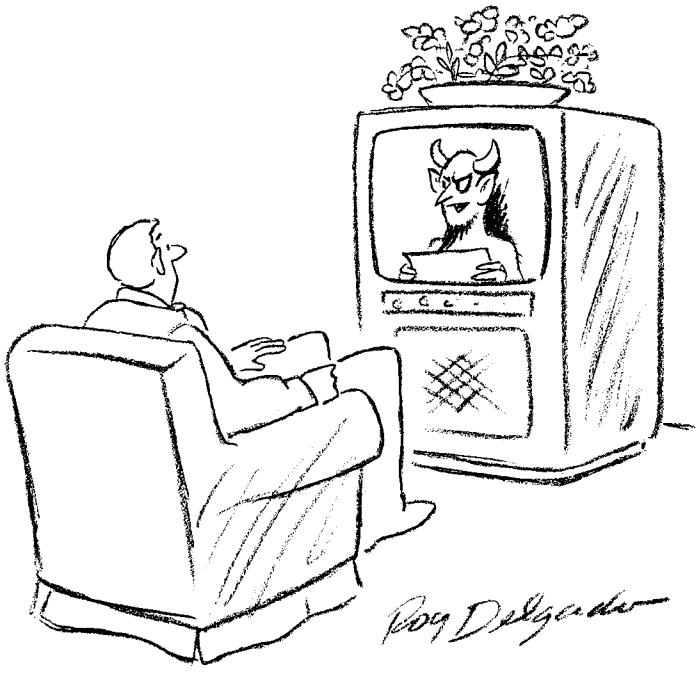

"All Hell is breaking loose . . . details at eleven."

Mrs. Clinton, Call Casting

I see her as Regina in
The Little Foxes, *though her grin*
Would also work in Baby Jane—
The one where Bette goes insane.
Of course, Medea *is her role*
(She'd outdo Judith), but the toll
On hubby might be too intense,
So Tug Boat Annie *makes more sense.*

—W. H. von Dreele

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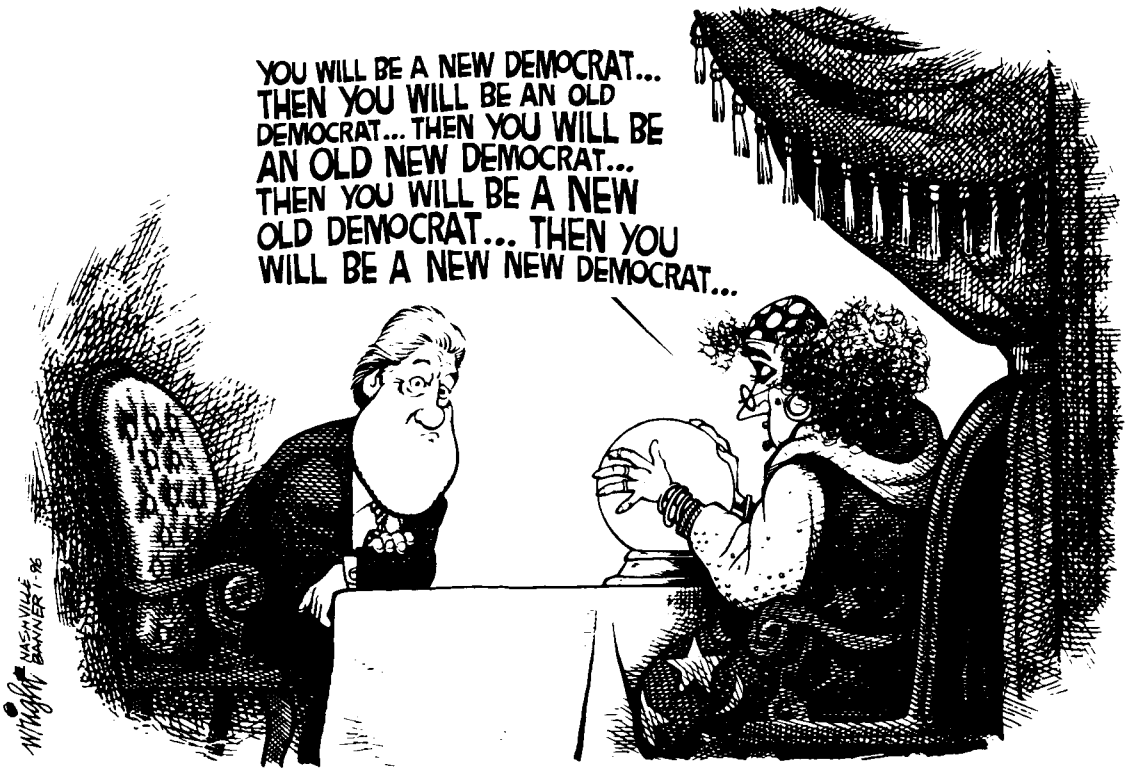
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O.J. in Retirement

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Restraining Leviathan

If free trade is federalism's heir, protectionism is the best way to ensure a future for Big Government.

JOHN O. MCGINNIS

TODAY trade among nations in goods, services, and financial instruments is conducted more freely, openly, and abundantly than at any time in human history. An economic boom of unprecedented scope is also sweeping the globe. These two trends are directly related and in deeper ways than conventionally thought. The usual explanation linking free trade to prosperity is that free trade creates wealth by allowing each nation to specialize in what it produces most efficiently. The economic argument for free trade —the theory of comparative advantage—is certainly a part of the explanation of global economic growth, but it is radically incomplete.

The more fundamental argument for free trade is political: it restrains government's ability to redistribute wealth and hamper enterprise. Since the beginning of recorded history rulers of all kinds have used taxation and regulation to extract wealth from their citizens, thereby discouraging productive economic activity. The story is essentially no different in contemporary democratic society in which the rulers are the people themselves: the elected ruling coalition may tax and regulate for the benefit of its members with the same harmful effect on productive activity.

Global opportunities for trade and investment, however, inhibit government's natural tendency toward the expropriation of wealth. If individuals may choose where to invest and companies may choose where to produce, they gain leverage against Leviathan. The ability to make an economic exit generates an internal political dynamic by which the government is compelled to behave rationally toward the more productive forces in society. It therefore constrains the power of politicians to construct new collectivist social reforms on the order of the New Deal or the Great Society.

The political order that free trade and global financial markets are creating is therefore one of the most important developments of our time. The new regime of global free trade has been generated by two powerful trends arising in the post-World War II West. First, a series of international trade agreements, such as the recent Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and regional pacts, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, has lowered tariffs and other barriers that previously hindered free trade. Second, as governments have put fewer restraints on the exchange of their currency and financial instruments, world financial markets have become more open. According to former Secretary of State George Schultz, the international financial markets have become the "courts of allocations of world saving," assessing daily the soundness of the economic policies of every major industrialized nation.

This new regime of free trade and global financial markets is beginning to become a central issue in American politics. It is hardly startling that left-wing Democrats like Minority Whip David Bonior are shrill in their opposition: they necessarily reject any constraint on government's ability to redistribute wealth to interest groups that will keep them in government. More surprising is the dissipation of the Republican party's post-war consensus in favor of free trade and global markets. Patrick Buchanan has made an attack on free trade the fundamental economic argument of his campaign, and has warned against the dangers of international economic bodies such as the World Trade Organization. If the global free-trade regime is to remain a cornerstone of Republican and conservative policy in the next century, Mr. Buchanan's arguments must be answered.

Mr. McGinnis is a professor at the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law.

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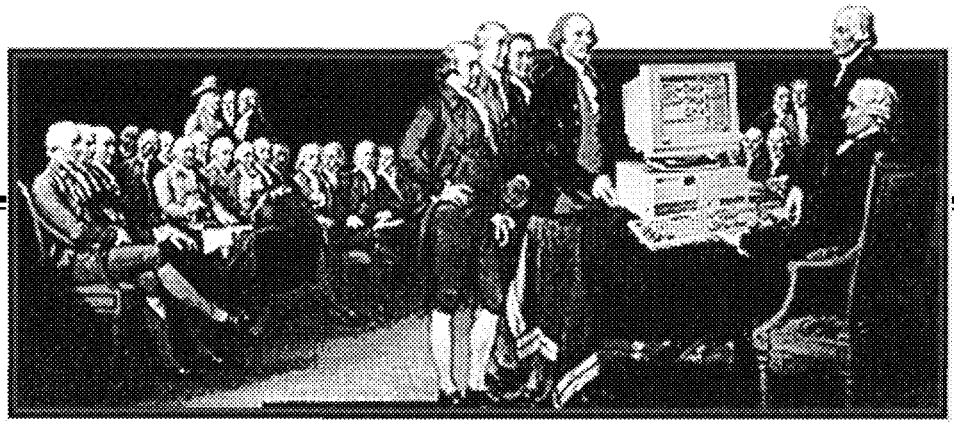

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Buchanan is fundamentally mistaken in his view that free trade is a force antithetical to traditional American conservatism. In fact, the political regime of free trade today largely replicates the effects of federalism—the keystone of the constitutional design of the original American republic. In the original constitution, the essential economic function of the national government was to sustain a free-trade zone to dismantle customs duties and other barriers that would frustrate the exchange of goods and services among former colonies. The Constitution, however, confined the national government's domestic power largely to trade matters, thus leaving the rest of economic and domestic regulation to the states. Although the states were thus repositories of enormous and potentially tyrannical powers, the free movement of goods and people among them restrained their ability to use their power to extract wealth from their citizens.

The political regime of free trade today largely replicates the effects of federalism in the original American republic.

Indeed, economists today have explained that the original constitutional design of a federalist free trading system was at the heart of the steady growth of the United States into an economic superpower by the beginning of the twentieth century. But federalism was more than just a political engine of economic expansion. It was perhaps the Framers' most important contribution to solving the greatest dilemma of political theory. As Stanford political scientist Barry Weingast has recently reminded us, a government needs to be powerful enough to protect property rights, but a government sufficiently powerful to accomplish this end is also powerful enough to expropriate the wealth of its citizens. Friedrich von Hayek saw that federalism provides a structural solution to this dilemma. Forcing state governments to compete for the capital and skills of a national citizenry imposes substantial limits on a state government's ability to expropriate. The emerging free-trade regime performs the same essential function today.

In fact, the free-trade regime is an important impetus behind the regulatory relief and dismantling of government agencies that the Republican Congress is beginning to enact. Over the last decades the free-trade regime has silently strengthened anti-regulatory interest groups because businesses in the global marketplace are acutely aware of regulations that disadvantage them and thus threaten to exit if they do not receive relief. Without the continuing pressure of free trade and global financial markets, however, interest groups who benefitted from the previous regulations will scurry to Congress at the first favorable turn of political events, and a new infestation of burdensome regulations will erupt.

The beneficial effects of this new political regime, however, are not limited to the economic sphere. The international trade regime also tends to limit the baleful social experiments that many Western nations have tried in this century. Mr. Buchanan rightly deplores America's cultural decline and the resulting social disorder and deviance. He correctly diagnoses much of this decline as rooted in the federal welfare programs of the last decades with their relentless assault on the traditional American value of self-reliance. Surprisingly, however, Mr. Buchanan fails to understand that the free-trade regime currently is the best hope for containing the follies of social engineering. The federal government is less capable of redistributing wealth and power to bureaucrats, teachers' unions and the "helping professions"—the iron triangle of the modern welfare state—if the burdens these groups impose on American business rapidly harm our position in the global economy. The Federal Government is also less capable of hiding the costs of programs by passing them onto future generations if the international capital market immediately operates to punish the government for deficit spending by forcing up interest rates.

Anyone who doubts the importance of the free-trade regime in restraining the forces that have eroded American exceptionalism should consult American history. In the nineteenth century, when the states rather than the Federal Government were responsible for general economic and social regulation, the states did not undertake social experiments because they were in competition with one another. In the 1930s the Roosevelt Supreme Court destroyed the constitutional limitations that prevented the Federal Government from directly regulating manufacturing and the conditions of labor, thereby weakening regulatory competition among the states. Only after the dissolution of free trading federalism did the era of reckless social reform begin. Then, as the regime of international trade and global financial markets created more regulatory competition among nations, the new social initiatives of the kind generated by the New Deal and the Great Society became less frequent.

WHAT is valuable about Mr. Buchanan's complaints—his warning that international economic organizations are a potential threat to our liberty—can also be underscored by analogy to American history. Just as the New Deal weakened regulatory competition among the states, so could global regulatory competition be eviscerated by vesting vast new regulatory powers in the international or regional bodies.

The problem with Mr. Buchanan's warning is not that it is completely wrongheaded, but that it is premature. The new World Trade Organization, for example, has only the modest powers necessary to preserve open markets. It has the authority to permit members of GATT to impose sanctions on nations that violate their GATT obligations by discriminating against the products of another nation. It does not, however, possess anything approaching the authority to make general economic and social policy for nations. Nor does it possess the authority to displace the domestic law of nations by operation of its judgments: the United States must affirmatively decide to change any laws found to be in violation of GATT. Indeed, at the level of international trade the current danger is not that world trade institutions will usurp domestic

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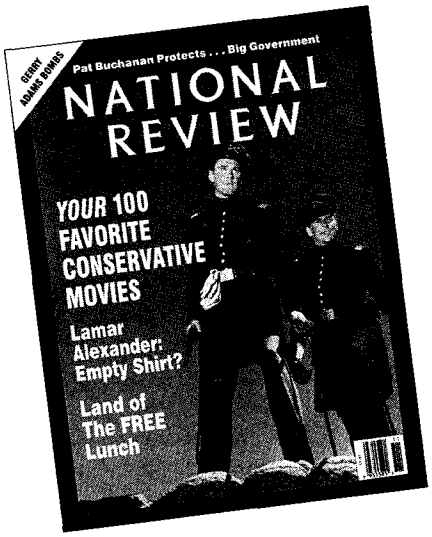
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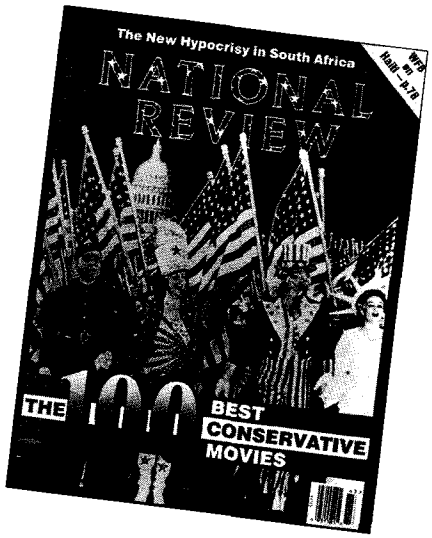

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powers, but that they will collapse because of domestic protectionist pressures that Mr. Buchanan and some others are trying to intensify.

There is also reason to hope that international economic entities may have difficulty gaining unwarranted regulatory powers. Nationalist sentiments in favor of sovereignty and against foreign influence are a very powerful barrier against such a transformation. Individuals now identify with their nations at least as much as individuals did with their states at the time of the framing of the Constitution and it took more than one hundred years for American federalism to disappear. Nevertheless, the bureaucratic imperative is to expand powers and it would thus be a great mistake to become complacent about the long-term potential for mischief of any international economic organization. Given its worldwide jurisdiction, an international entity with direct power over internal social and economic regulations of nations could undertake initiatives that might make the New Deal and Great Society eras look like exercises in prudent political stewardship.

Individuals now identify with their nations at least as much as individuals did with their states at the time of the framing of the Constitution.

Indeed, already interest groups are sensing the potential of world economic organizations to develop into instruments of redistribution which can be turned to their benefit. In particular, labor and environmental organizations have attempted to use world trade agreements to establish structural mechanisms capable of imposing regulations on their behalf. These interest groups forced the Clinton Administration to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement and include new side agreements requiring Mexico to enforce specific labor and environmental standards, thus inhibiting regulatory competition.

In other parts of the world we are witnessing a far more radical transfer of general regulatory powers from nation states to regional entities. For instance, the newly created "social chapter" of the European Union now permits a commission in Brussels substantial input into decisions of European countries about such domestic matters as the minimum wage and unemployment insurance. The British Conservative government has rejected the social chapter because the chapter's centralized policies of high regulation would lead to the high unemployment and slow growth now so notorious in continental Europe that the term "Eurosclerosis" has been invented to describe them.

The British conservative government has also resisted committing Britain to the European Monetary Union. Many conservatives believe that such a monetary union is a dangerous step toward a single European state. Even in the absence of a single superstate, a common currency could weaken the political discipline that a free trade and investment regime brings to bear on nations, because international financial markets could no longer hold individual governments as directly accountable for poorly designed economic policies as they can today. For instance, in his recent book *The Agenda*, Bob Woodward details the extent to which Clinton's initial ideas for free spending social programs were curtailed by fear of how the international financial markets would react to the resulting deficits.

Therefore one of the most important tasks for statesmen of the right in the coming century is to prevent the global regime of free trade and investment from being strangled by international centralization. First, the Republican Congress must oppose the expansion of agreements in NAFTA that impose internal labor or environmental standards on its member countries and resist any attempt to make similar agreements part of the GATT. Second, it is not too early for Congress to be considering long-term amendments to our laws, including the Constitution if necessary, to prevent international bodies from ever having the power to issue decisions that are automatically binding as a matter of United States law. Finally, just as conservative statesmen have celebrated federalism, they must publicize the benefits of the current free-trade regime and make clear how it could be destroyed by international regulatory centralization.

Trumpeting the benefits of free trade may be the most important political imperative of all because, in the contemporary world, free trade is the best way to sustain a conservative polity. Political thinkers from vastly different eras, including Aristotle and Machiavelli, have agreed that a "mixed regime"—one in which democratic elements are counterbalanced by others—leads to greater political stability, more security for property, and greater prosperity for society as a whole. The genius of the Framers was that they translated the idea of a mixed regime into a society with no fixed classes. They tried to restrain the excesses of pure democracy by establishing structural mechanisms such as federalism and a judiciary capable of enforcing constitutional guarantees of property.

"You realize, of course, that these imply free will?"

Today free trade functions as the principal restraining mechanism. In its absence, the modern democracy of centralized nation states tends to burden the most productive and talented in society, because power in unadulterated democracy resides in concentrated interest groups, regardless of their contribution to the productivity of society. In the end, burdening the productive through a process of redistribution creates social instability, since redistribution affronts the individual's natural

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sense of justice—which tells him that he should retain as much as possible of the product of his labor. Moreover, handicapping the most productive depresses economic activity and makes everyone, including the poorest, worse off in the long run.

The defense of the global free-trade regime should therefore be an issue that unites the two most important elements of the right's coalition—classical liberals (now often called libertarians) and traditional conservatives. Libertarians have straightforward reasons to embrace the regime: any governmental structure that forms a bulwark against redistribution and expropriation is a structure worth preserving. For conservatives, the argument is more complex because while they appreciate the importance of protecting property, they are legitimately concerned that the economic dynamism of free trade may create social dislocations and dissolve traditional values. Mr. Buchanan reflects these concerns when he excoriates the effects of international trade on middle-aged men and rustbelt communities.

BUT any disruptions caused by the international trade regime itself are more than counterbalanced by the disruptions the trade regime prevents government from causing. Traditional conservatives understand that the loss of property sustained by individuals is not the most important harm of redistributive policies. While most people seek to use democratic government to obtain additional resources for themselves, no one wants to see himself as a self-seeker. Citizens thus have a natural impulse to satisfy their private interests while deceiving themselves that they are serving the public good. That is the reason that in the modern welfare state left-wing politicians are most successful when they cloak their redistributive polices in the rhetoric of the public interest. The Great Society represented an enormous transfer of wealth and power to bureaucrats, academics, and certain other classes of professionals at the expense of others but it was falsely sold as a way of ending poverty. As conservatives well know, such utopian crusades result in the greatest social convulsions of all, because they disrupt the settled patterns and incentives of an organic society. If the global trade regime plays a substantial role in frustrating these schemes, it must be accounted on balance as a conservative force.

Creating a coalition of conservatives and classical liberals in defense of the regime of free trade and regulatory competition is essential because the stakes are so high. When federalism was gravely weakened by the centralized nation state created by the New Deal, a new mixed regime could still be reconstituted by forcing nation states to endure regulatory competition in a free-trading world. But if new centralized global entities capable of destroying regulatory competition are created, no other set of worlds is available to establish a mixed regime through the discipline of regulatory competition. Instead big government will have gone global. International interest groups will clash with one another for a greater share of resources and that clash will be made even more bitter and destructive because the benefits will be allocated by distant international bureaucracies without ties of sentiment or tradition to individual peoples. It will be an international war of all against all, with resulting loss of stability and prosperity on a worldwide scale. □

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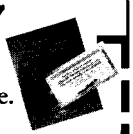

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REFORMING SPECIAL EDUCATION

Corrupted Intentions

Programs designed to help handicapped children may be doing more harm than good.

CHESTER E. FINN, JR.

CONSERVATIVES talk a good game about lifting Uncle Sam's heavy hand from the back of American education and restoring control of schools to parents and communities. It's high time they tackle the "special" education of disabled students. For more than two decades, this program has embodied all that Newt Gingrich and the feisty freshmen say they abhor: onerous, unfunded federal mandates; extra benefits and rights for government-designated populations; opportunities for activists and lawyers to hustle more taxpayer-financed largesse; and, most of all, the smug assumption that Washington knows best how to run the nation's schools.

The special-education program does not even work very well. And it costs real money: about $3.25 billion in federal funds each year, plus billions from Medicaid and other programs that help pay for services it mandates.

Yet today it's not even on the reformers' list. Special education has been exempted from all known block-grant schemes. Bills to abolish the Education Department would transfer it intact. The pending 1996 appropriation scarcely nicks it. Although the main statute awaits reauthorization, nobody on Capitol Hill suggests more than mere tinkering. Sub-committee chairmen Bill Frist and "Duke" Cunningham handle it with kid gloves.

The reason for such caution is, to put it gently, non-substantive. Everyone knows there's reason to revamp the entire program, recently described by a House staffer as "an incredible case of . . . micromanaging local school districts." Still, it's assumed throughout political Washington that any attempt to change it would be suicidal.

The special ed-ifice rests on two pillars. One is civil-rights legislation that since 1973 has barred discrimination against the handicapped. The other is the federal aid program, first enacted in 1975, which declares that every disabled youngster must be provided a "free appropriate public education" tailored to his unique needs—whatever that entails.

The statute does not say this should be done within available resources or that Uncle Sam will pay for it. At its peak, Washington covered about 12 per cent of the cost. Today, the federal share is around seven per cent. States and localities are saddled with a bill of at least $30 billion, perhaps as much as $50 billion.

States do not have to participate—but then they would forfeit their federal monies. Faced with no-escape civil-rights laws and court decisions that use the "equal protection" clause to mandate extra educational services for disabled youngsters, it is no surprise that the federal program now rules from ocean to ocean.

As one might expect, both the civil-rights measures and the special-education program began as remedies for *bona fide* wrongs. Many handicapped youngsters did not attend school at all in the early 1970s. "Compulsory attendance" laws often exempted them. Horror stories told of kids shut in attics and cellars.

In response, a rash of successful lawsuits secured handicapped youngsters the right to public education almost everywhere. By 1975, only two states had not provided schooling for most such children. But leaving this to the states was too slow and patchy for the advocates. Why have fifty programs with different provisions when Uncle Sam could create a single big one—and dangle the federal dollar to draw everyone into its web?

Today's special-education program is complex, as might be expected of any-

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thing that serves five million-plus youngsters. Each state must have a comprehensive plan for serving all disabled persons aged 3 to 21, whether they're in school, home, hospital, or jail. The more such people the state finds, the more federal dollars it gets.

School systems must provide all the services spelled out in each child's individual education plan, even if that means hiring more staff, paying tuition to private schools, or arranging for "clean catheterization." In practice the special-education program has first claim on the district's entire budget.

Disabled students must be educated in the "least restrictive environment," which means placed whenever possible in regular classrooms. Such "inclusion" works well for some but can lead to chaos when a teacher must cope with youngsters who have severe emotional and behavioral problems.

YET the teacher does not have much say. Parents have sweeping "due process" rights to shape their disabled child's educational program, and a thriving legal practice is eager to help them exploit those rights. (Since the school system must pay parents' legal fees, it's no surprise that administrators are apt to cave quickly to their demands.)

A double standard applies to discipline. It's nearly impossible to suspend or expel a disabled child. Even moving him out of the classroom requires parental consent or a court order. Although one federal law requires states to suspend a gun-toting student for a full year, if he is disabled another statute limits even his placement in an "alternative setting" to 45 days. (For other weapons, the limit is ten days.) Says Fairfax County's school superintendent Robert Spillane, "Any student who is classified as disabled is now literally able to get away with anything."

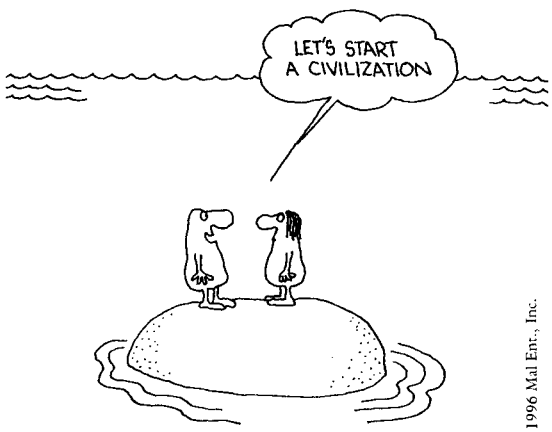
Just as the birth of special education followed the familiar civil-rights scenario, its evolution also hewed to a well-thumbed script. Non-discrimination evolved into affirmative action for the disabled. (The Americans with Disabilities Act is a vivid example.) A once small and discrete population of "victims" has grown—and its boundaries blurred—as more groups see advantages in joining it. Reverse discrimination sets in as non-victims find themselves denied benefits. Huge bureaucracies stretch their tentacles. Lawyers grow rich. Activist organizations get new grants.

The corruption of good intentions begins with special ed's bizarre incentives, particularly the impulse to grow.

How many disabled youngsters there are in the land depends, of course, on how "disability" is defined. The special-education population has swollen as more students have been classified with "learning disabilities." About a hundred thousand youngsters are now added to that category each year and today the "L.D." population makes up half of all children in special education, up from barely a fifth in the late 1970s. Indeed, the ballooning of that population accounts for virtually the entire growth of special education—from 8.5 to 12 per cent of public-school enrollments. (In New Jersey it's reached 16 per cent, in Massachusetts 17 per cent.) And the numbers keep rising. Between 1992-93 and 1993-94, public-school enrollments grew 1.4 per cent, but the special ed rolls added 4.2 per cent, the biggest increase ever.

The children we now term "learning disabled" were not kept in attics before Washington intervened. Mostly they are kids who, in an earlier time, were said to misbehave a lot or to have a short attention span. Many did poorly in school and some were nuisances in class. Teachers and parents both had reason to welcome an alternative approach. For the teacher, special education became an easy place to send the kid who disrupted her lessons. From the parents' standpoint, it got them off the hook—Gee, Officer Krupke, my kid's not naughty, he's disabled!—while opening the door to a trove of services and rights unavailable to the family next door (whose kid was simply naughty).

By the early 1990s, one in eight of New York City's one million students was classified as disabled; nearly a quarter of the school budget went into special education; and a fourth of the system's employees worked within its sprawling bureaucratic empire.



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SUCH growth served diverse interests: special-education bureaucrats, of course, whose domain and power grew; teachers who could off-load classroom pests; school-system budgeteers who got extra money as their special-ed population grew; superintendents who could boost scores by excluding more pupils from state tests; parents who could claim added services for their kids via this route; and litigious lawyers and advocacy groups whose living this is.

The program's growth created problems even beyond its soaring costs. New forms of segregation emerged as many minority youngsters (mostly boys) found themselves "sent to special ed" in urban school systems. Traditional civil-rights groups began to protest. Parents who sought extra help for their children didn't necessarily want them in separate classrooms. Most avant garde special educators fervently believe in "mainstreaming." Yet inclusion has produced its own backlash: classrooms disrupted and students shaken by the erratic behavior of disturbed classmates.

As for the putative beneficiaries, there's scant evidence that special education does them much good. A University of Pittsburgh team, for example, found that "general education settings produce achievement outcomes for students with learning disabilities that are neither desirable nor acceptable." The federal Education Department admits that "[A]chievement for students with disabilities remains less than satisfactory. . . . Results for students with learning disabilities and emotional disabilities are particularly poor."

There are five solid reasons why Congress ought to place the overhaul of special education high among its priorities:

—It's a burdensome, costly, and growing unfunded mandate-*cum*-entitlement.

—It establishes a class of people who are entitled to benefits that others do not receive while creating incentives to expand that class.

—It impedes other promising reforms. Because the special-education empire is threatened by anything that cuts red tape, its lobbyists op-

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pose charter-school bills, standards-based accountability, and vouchers.

—Its cost-benefit ratio is dubious. This is a sensitive topic, as only a churl would skimp on disabled children. Yet in weighing society's overall human capital investment, it's appropriate to ask whether the next million dollars are better spent on more services for a few handicapped youngsters or on physics and math for a large number of kids who are apt in the future to be mainstays of the country's economic strength.

—It fans the flames of victimhood and Washington-knows-best while making it easier for educators and parents to avoid responsibility for their students' achievements.

Even the education establishment is no longer of one mind. The American Federation of Teachers is troubled by the burdens that special education places on teachers. School boards are aggrieved by its soaring costs. Principals find school safety threatened by its double standards.

Desirable reforms are easy to sketch. Distribute federal block-grants via a formula that doesn't create perverse incentives. Permit states to close the program's open-ended entitlement and weigh special-education services against competing priorities. Roll back the rules (and bureaucracies) that substitute Washington's judgments for those of teachers, parents, and school boards. Eliminate the double disciplinary standard. Restore the civil-rights protections to prohibitions against individual discrimination, not group benefits. Exempt innovative programs like charter schools. Quit paying lawyers' fees. Experiment with vouchers for parents.

Easily described, yes, but not easily done as long as the entire topic is avoided on Capitol Hill. Not even the intrepid House freshmen, in their bill to abolish the Education Department, were willing to touch special education. No presidential candidate has gone near it.

As for the Clinton team, its special-education bureau is headed by a long-time activist, and its civil-rights office by a litigious and enterprising enforcer. Between them, the Education Department grows ever more intrusive. A recent "monitoring report" on South Carolina's program faulted the state for not screening prison inmates to see if they need special-education services. They held an Alabama district to be discriminatory because resource classes for L.D. youngsters were held in a trailer.

They even hassle their own agency. They're pressing the National Assessment of Educational Progress to divert scarce resources into costly accommodations to enable more disabled youngsters to take its tests (though nobody expects such data to be comparable). Until members of Congress complained, they sought to restrict the government's popular "blue ribbon" schools competition to the handful of buildings that are fully "accessible."

Insofar as the program's excesses are buttressed by zealotry, its reform prospects are slim. But what about cowardice? Will political calamity truly befall all agents-of-change in this domain?

Perhaps not. The special-education population is about the same size as the Hispanic enrollment in U.S. public schools (and about as large as the total private-school enrollment). No member of Congress has high concentrations in his district, though none is without some such constituents. Every community and state has its own built-in special-education lobby. That is why some state laws go farther than the federal program and why today, even if Uncle Sam were to fold his tent, disabled youngsters would not be shut in closets or barred from school.

The governors have already signaled that they'd like to have more such decisions returned to the states. So have state school superintendents. Allying those two powerful groups with teacher unions and school boards would yield some political "cover" for skittish Congressmen. If special-education reform were also harnessed to changes that benefit masses of non-disabled youngsters —e.g., vouchers, real block grants, or safer schools—such a coalition might wield serious clout.

Of course, the specter of tiny wheelchairs circling the Capitol in protest cannot be dismissed. Special-education advocates are expert at lathering the parents of disabled children into paroxysms of outrage and entreaty. And many of the kids tug at the heartstrings —and the TV screen.

The activists know this well and can be as cynical in using such assets as are partisans of other causes. That's why special education is a test of Congressional consistency and resolve. The reason to reform U.S. education, after all, is not to placate its producer interests and their lobbyists but to strengthen its quality for all children, disabled and non-disabled alike. Exempting one bloated bureaucratic remnant of the early Seventies from the norms of the late Nineties does nobody much good. □

The Welfare Magnet

For more and more immigrants, America is becoming the land of welfare opportunities.

GEORGE BORJAS

THE evidence has become overwhelming: immigrant participation in welfare programs is on the rise. In 1970, immigrant households were slightly less likely than native households to receive cash benefits like AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) or SSI (Supplementary Security Income). By 1990, immigrant households were more likely to receive such cash benefits (9.1 per cent *v.* 7.4 per cent). Pro-immigration lobbyists are increasingly falling back on the excuse that this immigrant–native "welfare gap" is attributable solely to refugees and/or elderly immigrants; or that the gap is not numerically large. (Proportionately, it's "only" 23 per cent).

But the Census does not provide any information about the use of noncash transfers. These are programs like Food Stamps, Medicaid, housing subsidies, and the myriad of other subsidies that

Mr. Borjas is a professor of public policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. This article is adapted from his Immigration and the Welfare State: Immigrant Participation in Means-Tested Entitlement Programs, *written jointly with Lynette Hilton and to be published by the* Quarterly Journal of Economics *in its May 1996 issue.*

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make up the modern welfare state. And noncash transfers comprise over three quarters of the cost of all means-tested entitlement programs. In 1991, the value of these noncash transfers totaled about $140 billion.

Recently available data help provide a more complete picture. The Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) samples randomly selected households about their involvement in virtually all means-tested programs. From this, the proportion of immigrant households that receive benefits from any particular program can be calculated.

The results are striking. The "welfare gap" between immigrants and natives is much larger when noncash transfers are included [see table]. Taking all types of welfare together, immigrant participation is 20.7 per cent. For native-born households, it's only 14.1 per cent—a gap of 6.6 percentage points (proportionately, 47 per cent).

And the SIPP data also indicate that immigrants spend a relatively large fraction of their time participating in some means-tested program. In other words, the "welfare gap" does not occur because many immigrant households receive assistance for a short time, but because a significant proportion—more than the native-born—receive assistance for the long haul.

Finally, the SIPP data show that the types of welfare benefits received by particular immigrant groups influence the type of welfare benefits received by later immigrants from the same group. Implication: there appear to be networks operating within ethnic communities which transmit information about the availability of particular types of welfare to new arrivals.

The results are even more striking in detail. Immigrants are more likely to participate in practically every one of the major means-tested programs. In the early 1990s, the typical immigrant family household had a 4.4 per cent probability of receiving AFDC, *v.* 2.9 per cent of native-born families. [Further details in Table 1].

And that overall "welfare gap" becomes even wider if immigrant families are compared to non-Hispanic white native-born households. Immigrants are almost twice as likely to receive some type of assistance—20.7 per cent *v.* 10.5 per cent.

The SIPP data also allow us to calculate the dollar value of the benefits disbursed to immigrant households, as compared to the native-born. In the early 1990s, 8 per cent of households were foreign-born. These immigrant households accounted for 13.8 per cent of the cost of the programs. They cost almost 75 per cent more than their representation in the population.

The disproportionate disbursement of benefits to immigrant households is particularly acute in California, a state which has both a lot of immigrants and very generous welfare programs. Immigrants make up only 21 per cent of the households in California. But these households consume 39.5 per cent of all the benefit dollars distributed in the state. It is not too much of an exaggeration to say that the welfare problem in California is on the verge of becoming an immigrant problem.

The pattern holds for other states. In Texas, where 8.9 per cent of households are immigrant but which has less generous welfare, immigrants receive 22 per cent of benefits distributed. In New York State, 16 per cent of the households are immigrants. They receive 22.2 per cent of benefits.

The SIPP data track households over a 32-month period. This allows us to determine if immigrant welfare participation is temporary—perhaps the result of dislocation and adjustment—or long-term and possibly permanent.

The evidence is disturbing. During the early 1990s, nearly a third (31.3 per cent) of immigrant households participated in welfare programs at some point in the tracking period. Only just over a fifth (22.7 per cent) of native-born households did so. And 10.3 per cent of immigrant households received benefits through the *entire* period, *v.* 7.3 per cent of native-born households.

Because the Bureau of the Census began to collect the SIPP data in 1984, we can use it to assess if there have been any noticeable changes in immigrant welfare use. It turns out there has been a very rapid rise.

During the mid-1980s, the probability that an immigrant household received some type of assistance was 17.7 per cent *v.* 14.6 per cent for natives, a gap of 3.1 percentage points. By the early 1990s, recipient immigrant households had risen to 20.7 per cent, *v.* 14.1 per cent for natives. The immigrant-native "welfare gap," therefore, more than doubled in less than a decade.

Thus immigrants are not only more likely to have some exposure to the welfare system; they are also more likely to be "permanent" recipients. And the trend is getting worse. Unless eligibility requirements are made much more stringent, much of the welfare use that we see now in the immigrant population may remain with us for some time. This raises troubling questions about the impact of this long-term dependency on the immigrants—and on their U.S.-born children.

There is huge variation in welfare participation among immigrant groups. For example, about 4.3 per cent of households originating in Germany, 26.8 per cent of households originating

Average Monthly Probability of Receiving Benefits in Early 1990s

Type of Benefit	Immigrant Households	Native Households
Cash Programs:		
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)	4.4	2.9
Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	6.5	3.7
General Assistance	0.8	0.6
Noncash programs:		
Medicaid	15.4	9.4
Food Stamps	9.2	6.5
Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)	3.0	2.0
Energy Assistance	2.1	2.3
Housing Assistance (public housing or low-rent subsidies)	5.6	4.4
School Breakfasts and Lunches (free or reduced price)	12.5	6.2
Summary:		
Receive Cash Benefits, Medicaid, Food Stamps, WIC, Energy Assistance, or Housing Assistance	20.7	14.1

Source: George J. Borjas and Lynette Hilton, "Immigration and the Welfare State: Immigrant Participation in Means-Tested Entitlement Programs," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, forthcoming, May 1996.

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in Mexico, and 40.6 per cent of households originating in the former Soviet Union are covered by Medicaid. Similarly, about 17.2 per cent of households originating in Italy, 36 per cent from Mexico and over 50 per cent in the Dominican Republic received some sort of welfare benefit.

A more careful look at these national-origin differentials reveals an interesting pattern: national-origin groups tend to "major" in particular types of benefit. For example, Mexican immigrants are 50 per cent more likely to receive energy assistance than Cuban immigrants. But Cubans are more likely to receive housing benefits than Mexicans.

The SIPP data reveal a very strong positive correlation between the probability that new arrivals belonging to a particular immigrant group receive a particular type of benefit, and the probability that earlier arrivals from the same group received that type of assistance. This correlation remains strong even after we control for the household's demographic background, state of residence, and other factors. And the effect is not small. A 10 percentage point increase in the fraction of the existing immigrant stock who receive benefits from a particular program implies about a 10 per cent increase in the probability that a newly arrived immigrant will receive those benefits.

This confirms anecdotal evidence. Writing in the *New Democrat*—the mouthpiece of the Democratic Leadership Council—Norman Matloff reports that "a popular Chinese-language book sold in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Chinese bookstores in the United States includes a 36-page guide to SSI and other welfare benefits" and that the "*World Journal*, the largest Chinese-language newspaper in the United States, runs a 'Dear Abby'-style column on immigration matters, with welfare dominating the discussion."

And the argument that the immigrant-native "welfare gap" is caused by refugees and/or elderly immigrants? We can check its validity by removing from the calculations all immigrant households that either originate in countries from which refugees come or that contain any elderly persons.

Result: 17.3 per cent of this narrowly defined immigrant population receives benefits, *v.* 13 per cent of native households that do not contain any elderly persons. Welfare gap: 4.3 percentage points (proportionately, 33 per cent). The argument that the immigrant welfare problem is caused by refugees and the elderly is factually incorrect.

Conservatives typically stress the costs of maintaining the welfare state. But we must not delude ourselves into thinking that nothing is gained from the provision of antibiotics to sick children or from giving food to poor families.

At the same time, however, these welfare programs introduce a cost which current calculations of the fiscal costs and benefits of immigration do not acknowledge and which might well dwarf the current fiscal expenditures. That cost can be expressed as follows: To what extent does a generous welfare state reduce the work incentives of current immigrants, and change the nature of the immigrant flow by influencing potential immigrants' decisions to come —and to stay? □

Loose Lips

The Clinton Administration values peacekeeping over keeping American secrets secret.

MARK LEVIN

FOR months the Clinton Administration has been downplaying serious leaks of U.S. secrets by the United Nations, while resisting congressional efforts to do something about them. The public record is littered with such intelligence breaches. For instance, on March 12, 1995 The *Washington Post* reported "Several boxes containing classified U.S. intelligence documents were discovered by U.S. officials in a vacant United Nations office in Somalia days before the pullout of UN peacekeepers early this month, prompting some U.S. officials to question whether the international organization has mishandled sensitive U.S. secrets. . . Included in the boxes were 'source reports' recounting sensitive interviews with Somali informers, daily intelligence reports on the Somali political situation, classified data designated 'UN-releasable,' some computer diskettes, and documents stamped 'Secret Wintell' that involved highly sensitive U.S. sources and spying methods, according to a U.S. official."

Given the substantial increase in U.S. intelligence sharing with the UN, congressional Republicans are pushing for legislation requiring a formal agreement between the U.S. and the UN spelling out the conditions under which U.S. secrets would be provided to the UN. Provisions include procedures to limit access to this information and prevent unauthorized disclosures. After all, the United Nations' membership includes such anti-American terrorist states as Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Cuba.

Although the Clinton Administration pays lip service to intelligence concerns, UN Ambassador Madeline Albright and other senior officials have aggressively fought the imposition of real intelligence-sharing restrictions. They fear an end to UN–U.S. "peacekeeping" initiatives. More fundamentally, the Clinton Administration is not about to let the unauthorized disclosure of U.S. intelligence information derail its efforts to use the United Nations as a cheap substitute for the United States military.

Sadly, the Administration has found sympathetic ears in two gadfly senators who hold key positions on the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence—Chairman Arlen Specter and Vice-Chairman Bob Kerrey. This committee has done little to police known UN intelligence violations.

Surprisingly, one of the loudest voices in the Senate demanding answers is liberal freshman Republican Olympia Snowe. Last March, at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Snowe told Ambassador Albright the UN had breached U.S. intelligence four times in the last two years. Moreover, Reuters reported that Sen. Snowe charged that "'career intelligence

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analysts' who had disagreed with policies on turning over classified information to the United Nations 'have been removed' and replaced by political appointees." The Clinton Administration is undermining its own intelligence advice to accommodate the UN.

An internal Administration memorandum dated September 26, 1995, which is believed to have been written by a political appointee at the Pentagon, demonstrates the Clinton Administration's contempt for those who question its intelligence-sharing activities. The document—entitled "PCG (Peacekeeping Core Group) Issue/Information Paper"—states, in part, the following:

"The foreign affairs committees, particularly SFRC (Senate Foreign Relations Committee), have been motivated by partisan politics and ideology. Intelligence sharing is merely another hook on which they have been able to hang their anti-UN hats. The intelligence committees have taken a more sober approach to this issue, seeking to head off any future "Mogadishus," although their activity has been driven by their foreign affairs colleagues. Because the intelligence committees operate in secret, they have not been forced into the same rhetorical posture as the foreign relations committee."

"The primary driver of this issue is Senator Olympia Snow [*sic*] (R., Maine). She was the ranking Republican (Vice-Chair) of the House intelligence committee last year, and has sought to milk this issue for all its worth during her nine months as a freshman Senator."

The Information Paper continues, "The IC (intelligence community) may be meeting the letter of the law regarding congressional consultation and notification. However, the Administration needs to go-the-extra-mile to inoculate peacekeeping policy attacks fueled by intelligence-sharing concerns on the Hill. Intelligence is a canard being used to gut peacekeeping: we should be coordinating more closely to avoid creating opportunity for ad hominem attacks."

Note this remarkable memorandum says nothing about the dangers when national-security secrets are made available to our enemies. *Nothing*.

If the Clinton officials in charge of keeping U.S. secrets do not take their task seriously, it is time for Senator Specter to hold public hearings. Perhaps the individuals who have filled the following posts from 1993 to present should be asked to testify: Director of Central Intelligence, Executive Director of the CIA, Deputy Director for Intelligence, Chief of the Office of European Analysis, Division Chief—West European Division, Branch Chief, United Nations Analyst.

Perhaps then we will know whether "intelligence is a canard to gut peacekeeping" or if peacekeeping is a canard to gut the U.S. military. □

Lamar? Come on!

Alexander's admirers think he's the candidate of the revolution. Can he teach voters their A-B-Cs?

RICH LOWRY & RAMESH PONNURU

WHEN Lamar Alexander was still an asterisk in most polls he scored an inside-Washington victory. Socialite and conservative activist Arianna Huffington, taken by recent Alexander speeches, hosted two meetings in December for the candidate and several "compassion conservatives," including *Weekly Standard* editor Bill Kristol, welfare guru Marvin Olasky, and Bradley Foundation head Michael Joyce. They discussed how to make "civil society" themes a bigger part of Alexander's campaign. A few weeks later, in a speech to the Heritage Foundation—written with extensive help from Mrs. Huffington—Alexander unveiled his "citizenship agenda for a rising, shining America."

It was music to the ears of Huffington and Co. Over the last few years they have been urging a restoration of "civil society"—the rich array of institutions like churches, schools, families, and even trade unions that mediate between the individual and the state—as the key to alleviating the nation's social problems. Cutting government, in their view, is not enough for the country or the GOP. So when Alexander expanded on a thoughtful, Burkean message of civic revival, this slice of the conservative intelligentsia swooned.

"There's probably nobody in the race who is more committed to devolution than Lamar Alexander," says Civil Society Project director Don Eberly. "He really understands where the country is going, which is to really move resources downward and outward." Agrees Bradley Foundation head Michael Joyce: "When he says for example that we need more from ourselves and less from government, I think he authentically believes that." Along with this appreciation of Alexander's message goes a calculation that he can win. "Dole would almost certainly lose," maintains Huffington. "Alexander can expose Clinton [in the debates]. He can expose him on these issues of the civil society, compassion. Because he can . . . expose the fact that there has never been any action that has followed the rhetoric."

As Alexander's candidacy ceases to be a parlor game, these assumptions deserve closer scrutiny. It is not at all clear that Alexander would make the strongest challenger to Bill Clinton. His moderation may appeal to primary voters turned off by their other choices, but it may not excite the conservative base or present voters with a stark choice in November. The "outsider" appeal of his plaid-shirt populism is tenuous, especially given his Midas Touch as an investor. Finally, the "civil society" agenda, while laudable in many respects, has both political and substantive drawbacks. If the goal is to complete and deepen a Republican realignment, Lamar! is a risky proposition.

Alexander's assets as a candidate are undeniable. By all accounts he is an effective and focused manager with a smart campaign staff. His platform is more detailed than Dole's, more realistic than Forbes's, and less controversial than Buchanan's. Younger and more telegenic than Bob Dole, Alexander could easily match the energy and lip-biting empathy of President Clinton.

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Alexander has the gift for which he once praised his moderate Tennessee mentor Howard Baker: being intensely ambitious without showing it.

But none of this means that his campaign's ritual incantation "A-B-C: Alexander Beats Clinton," is necessarily true. In November, he would have to mobilize the party's base while reaching out to independents and conservative Democrats. Alexander surely can attract independents. But he would likely have trouble activating the base and reaching out to Reagan Democrats, because both depend on a harder-edged social conservatism than Alexander has been unwilling to offer. For example, on crime and welfare—issues key to building Republican majorities—his devolutionist positions imply agnosticism over policy specifics.

A more specific problem is his lack of appeal to religious conservatives. For many of them abortion is a litmus test, and Alexander flunks. He says that states, not the federal government, should restrict abortion. It would be a defensible proposal, except that Alexander also says he would not push to overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*, which prevents states from enacting major restrictions. "He either doesn't understand the process or he's trying to pull the wool over people's eyes," says Carol Long, director of the National Right to Life Committee's PAC. Alexander's biggest selling point for social conservatives is that Bill Bennett has come on board as his campaign's co-chair. If Alexander were the nominee, many social conservatives would stay home on election day.

Nominating Alexander would also blur distinctions between the parties in November. As has often been noted, his political pedigree is remarkably similar to Bill Clinton's. Both were governors of Southern states with cozy elites. Both were widely touted as models of activist, good-government centrism. Both picked high-profile fights with the teachers' unions. And as Alexander's Republican rivals are quick to note, both raised taxes. Moreover, Clinton and Alexander also have similar personas. Both are from the moderate wings of their parties. Both men project empathetic, reasonable, energetic images. The implied promise is that troublesome conflicts and divisive issues will yield to their soothing touch. They even share the same citizenship rhetoric. This year's State of the Union speech was full of references to the need for greater civic involvement. When Clintonites say they consider Alexander their strongest possible opponent are they paying themselves a compliment?

Alexander will try to get traction against Clinton, and Dole, as an "outsider" not steeped in the wicked ways of Washington. But his service in the Cabinet and, even more, his establishmentarian political instincts make the pose difficult to sustain. So do Alexander's sweetheart financial dealings, which would undermine any attempt to differentiate himself from Clinton. When he was elected governor, Alexander was worth $150,000. He's now worth over $3 million. As has been reported extensively in the mainstream press, he made $620,000 on a $1 investment in the *Knoxville Journal* as governor; his wife invested $8,900 in a private prison company that won state business and eventually earned herself a

Bonnie T. Gardner

$130,000 profit; as president of the University of Tennessee Alexander steered university business to an inn in which his wife owned an interest. The list goes on, making Alexander the favorite candidate of investigative reporters, and the potential nominee least capable of exploiting Whitewater.

Is Alexander's citizenship message compelling enough to overcome his flaws as a candidate? The ease with which liberals like Clinton can adopt it should be one warning sign. Civil society is the perfect message for a conflict-avoidance politician like Alexander. It allows him to pepper his speeches with homiletic stories collected from his nationwide listen-and-learn tour prior to the campaign and to agitate for "bigger Boy Scouts troops." At times the Alexander campaign sounds like a Public Service announcement circa 1950. While Alexander is often accused of insincerity and opportunism, this feel-good boosterism has been a consistent theme throughout his career. Before "Rising, Shining America" there was a "Tennessee Homecoming": a community-revitalization program in which Alexander exhorted localities to adopt a community-wide project celebrating some aspect of their heritage and invite all Americans to come see the new Tennessee. Alexander to this day considers this schmaltzy production a highlight of his tenure as governor.

But if PTA meetings are the answer to America's problems, and Washington so irrelevant as Alexander frequently implies, it's hard to see why he's running for president. Alexander's intellectual fans hope he would use the bully pulpit to persuade Americans to get involved in their communities. "I think a president who has a clear sense of what ought to be different has an unmatched microphone for trying to talk people into it," says Chester Finn, who served under Alexander at the Department of Education and edited a book with him. But to make progress against America's social problems Alexander would have to speak out about controversial issues—something he has been notably reluctant to do on the campaign trail.

A President Alexander could theoretically move beyond platitudes by using citizenship-movement rhetoric to support the GOP's budget agenda. He could argue that entitlements are bad for the national character, that high social spending crowds out the institutions of civil society. Instead, Alexander presents citizenship as a way of evading budget issues. Adam Meyerson, editor of *Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship*, says, "It's not enough to say that we have to go beyond the budget debate and talk about a great vision of citizenship for America. We have to show how the vision of citizenship fits into the budget debate."

Of course, Alexander has substantive proposals. Their chief theme is devolution, i.e., sending federal programs to the states and private groups. The goal isn't controversial among conservatives, and some of Alexander's ideas—a $500 tax credit for donations to charity—deserve serious attention. But the danger of his approach is that it gives states the freedom to spend federal revenue without the responsibility of raising the revenues themselves. In other words, devolution in practice is a way to dodge

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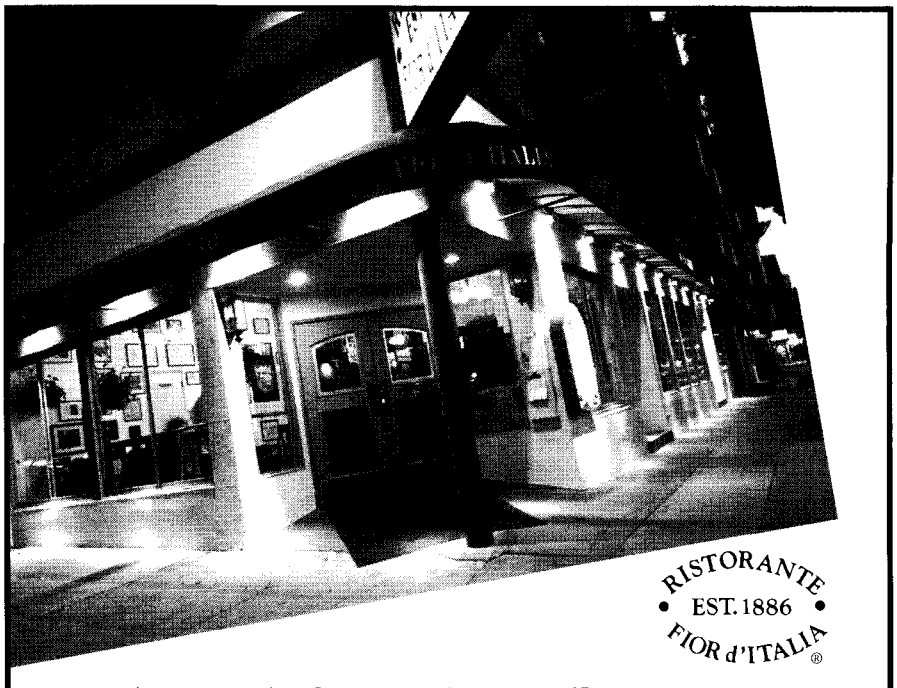
the size-of-government issue, handing it over to states that often support the status quo. During last year's welfare debate, for instance, Alexander assailed proposed GOP reforms that would have kept states from using federal grant money to make cash payments to single teen mothers. Most states won't make these tough-minded reforms themselves. Now Alexander is floating a welfare plan with a big string of its own: that states set up "community charity funds" to oversee the disbursement of block-granted funds to private groups. The goal is to make social programs operate with the effectiveness of private charities, but the result could well be to make private charities more like government.

OTHER proposals to promote civil society—especially some of those contained in Sen. Dan Coats's widely touted package of bills—are susceptible to the same problems as any federal initiative. Consider "America 2000," Alexander's project as Education Secretary, and a dry run for this approach. The core idea was to create "a little, mini-uprising in every state," as local business, school, and political leaders built "America 2000 communities" around radically reformed schools. But instead of stoking a revival the plan fell victim to a hostile Congress, to an education establishment that co-opted the proposals meant to support this "populist crusade"—and to the program's own contradictions. Even as the Bush administration insisted that more money wasn't the answer to educational problems, Alexander touted his department's rising budget as proof of his commitment to solving them. "I rather suspect if Lamar had it to do over again, aspects of America 2000 that were the Federal Government's province he would be far less likely to propose today," says Finn. "I think we've all been sobered."

Extolling civil society while muting differences on controversial issues allows Alexander to emphasize his "optimism" and geniality, which his supporters take to be the key to Ronald Reagan's success. Excessive optimism, however, can result in a distinctly unconservative message. Mrs. Huffington sometimes implies that nobody will ever suffer from conservative reforms because everyone will become a social worker. John Walters, president of the New Citizenship Project, recently felt obliged to warn his allies not to "substitute . . . an omnipotent vision of civil society" for the liberal "faith in omnipotent big government." The conservative vision of citizenship, he noted, has always stressed self-reliance: "Substituting moral entitlement for the current system of legal entitlement will not restore individual responsibility because it fails to challenge the culture of victimhood at the core of the therapeutic state."

Reagan was willing to be a divisive figure: remember "welfare queens"? His ability to withstand a barrage of criticism had more to do with tax cuts large enough for people to feel in their pocketbooks than with his smile or the twinkle in his eye (or even his shirt-wear). Civil society offers conservatives important supplementary messages: that individualism is not the only alternative to statism; that limiting government opens up a space in which other institutions can grow; and that these institutions can often combat social problems more effectively than the government. But the basic campaign message of conservatives and Republicans has to be succinct. To working-class and middle-class Americans, they have to say: "We'll get government off your back, and we'll side with you and your values." Not: "You need to volunteer more and go to more PTA meetings."

Some conservatives react violently to Alexander because they sense that he is a phony through and through. "I don't want another g-ddamn Southern governor who talks sweet and lines his own pockets, and has enough ambition and energy to blow up the world and I'm sick and tired of these phonies and I don't want us to have one," says one in an extreme version of a typical comment. But it is difficult to score a direct hit against Alexander. His citizenship agenda, the central argument of his campaign, passes the sincerity test. If he is manifestly not an outsider, his line about spending more time outside D.C. than inside has surface plausibility. If his financial dealings are suspect, nobody has yet uncovered anything outright illegal. And against his electability problems must be set those of his rivals, the warrior Pat Buchanan and the message-less Bob Dole. It's certainly a sign of the poverty of the Republican field, that some conservatives may yet—reluctantly, with their eyes wide-open—decide to come on along. □



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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

February 18, 1996

Dear Rusty,

A few months ago, Bill and I were having lunch together, and I said to him, "Bill, you should get out and meet the people, get the campaign muscles warmed up." He nodded, picked up the phone, dialed a few numbers, and said into the phone, "Dick, it's Bill. What are my numbers today?"

A few minutes later, the fax machine delivered the numbers: he beats Dole, Lamar!, and Buchanan. He's got a 49 per cent approval rating in Iowa and New Hampshire—which, with the margin of error, is almost a 49.5 per cent!

"Al," Bill said as he surveyed his fax, "it looks like I'm going to New Hampshire and Iowa."

I headed off to Florida to talk about preserving the Everglades, a real barnburner. After the rally, I headed to a local coffee shop to do what we in the campaign biz call "a flying drop-by."

I moved on down the row of booths until another elderly woman introduced me to her husband.

"What brings you to the Miami–Dade area?" she asked.

"What?" asked her husband.

"I ASKED HIM WHAT BRINGS HIM TO THE AREA," she replied loudly. Several Secret Service agents turned down their earpieces.

"I'm here to talk about preserving the indigenous creatures of South Florida. You know, we too easily assume that because a mammal has scaly skin or is unattractive to look at, that we can just let it die. Well I'm here to fight for their preservation."

"HE'S HERE TO PRESERVE SOCIAL SECURITY," she shouted.

"Well, actually—"

"You mean you're not?" she asked.

"That's exactly why I'm here," I said.

You know, Rusty, back in the '88 Democratic primary, I would have told that woman the truth: that I wasn't in South Florida to talk about Social Security, and that if I was elected, I would means-test benefits and gradually phase out the system, and replace it with an IRA-type instrument.

Boy, have I learned a lot since then!

A quick change of clothes and I was in snowy New Hampshire.

Since I had so much luck with the senior citizens in Florida, I scoped out a lonely looking old man sitting by himself at the counter of the local Derry, New Hampshire coffee shop.

"Sir," I said, "I'm Al Gore, and Bill Clinton and I would like your vote in November."

"Forget it, Al," said the man. "I'm going all the way." And then he chuckled to himself.

"Dick Lugar?" I asked.

"So what if I am?" said the old man, who, it turned out, was indeed Dick Lugar. "So what if I come in fifth or sixth? I've just got to stay viable until Super Tuesday, ride out the storm, walk into the convention hall with my head held high, and then, you know what? People will say—hey, Dole can't beat Clinton, Lamar can't beat Dole, but who's the man with the eye of the tiger? Who's the White Knight come to slay the Dragon?"

"Colin Powell?" I asked.

"Exactly. And when he isn't available it'll all fall in Dickie Lugar's lap, just you wait." He held his coffee mug up to the waitress. "You want to hotten this up for me, honey?"

As she poured him more coffee, I slipped out.

I was about to enter another local coffee shop, when we had to wait for the CNN camera crew to make it from Manchester, where Pat Buchanan had announced that Burger King was owned by Grand Metropolitan, an English-owned company, and that when he was elected, he'd string concertina wire along the drive-through lane until each Whopper was "crafted with pride by legal Americans in the USA."

As I waited outside the coffee shop for the crew to arrive, it began to snow.

"Can't I wait inside the coffee shop?" I asked.

"Then we'll miss getting the delighted looks on the faces of the citizens of Nashua as they realize that the Vice President is joining them for lunch."

"But they can see me standing here through the window. Look, some of them are waving."

"Don't worry, Mr. Vice President. These are New Hampshire folks. They'll turn it on for the cameras. They're just saving their energy for show time."

But, sad to say, Rusty, I never did get to go inside. Boy, did I freeze my toes out there in the snow. But, apparently, back at the Burger King in Manchester, Pat Buchanan committed a verbal gaffe when he declared that he was the only candidate running who would beat President Hindenburg in November—so the CNN crew never left.

I'm getting the feeling back in my toes! I'm ready for Super Tuesday!

Your pal, Al

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Your 100 Best Conservative Movies

SPENCER WARREN

EIGHTEEN months ago, "The 100 Best Conservative Movies" was a big hit with *NR* readers, inspiring an outpouring of their own film favorites. The following new list is drawn mainly from these suggestions with a few additions. Once again, many films come from the 1930s, '40s, and '50s. If you want to understand the meaning of "Victorian virtues," in Gertrude Himmelfarb's phrase (as distinguished from "modern values"), these movies are the place to start. Their creators often were children of the Victorian age. They grew up with convictions like faith, family, thrift, self-restraint, and patriotism, long before the "de-moralization" (Miss Himmelfarb again) of society and mass culture by material affluence, radical ideology, and cynical, corporate commercialism. But lately there are some hopeful signs of a return to these virtues—in films like *Apollo 13*, which celebrates American know-how, or the three new Jane Austen adaptations, which subtly endorse traditional manners and morals. So much for trends in film history. Now to Your 100 Best Conservative Movies.

Most Popular Conservative Movies Omitted from the Previous List: *Patton* (1970). This film makes a calculated appeal to anti-war liberals as well as to conservatives. But there's no doubt about George C. Scott's riveting portrayal of our greatest World War II army commander. It's a performance that sweeps away all those liberal theories that the way to fight a war is by controlled escalation or "sending signals."

Ben-Hur (1959). Oscars for Best Picture and Actor (Charlton Heston). The most revived of the 1950s biblical epics, giving a panoramic and realistic view of the cruel pre-Christian world. Long—but not long enough for many *NR* readers.

The Sound of Music (1965). One of the best loved of all movies. President Reagan once apologized for not having read his official papers because the previous night this film had been shown on television. Best-Picture Oscar.

Mr. Warren is president of the Insider's Washington Experience, a public-policy seminar program.

Best Modern Films about Individual Conscience and Courage: *Walking Tall* (1973). Based on the true story of Tennessee Sheriff Buford Pusser, powerfully played by Joe Don Baker, who routed local corruption while wielding a baseball bat. See also *Lean on Me* (1989), the story of conservative New Jersey school principal Joe Clark (played by the admirable Morgan Freeman) for the baseball bat as a symbol of sturdy American righteousness.

Rob Roy (1995). Scotsman fights for his home and property, from the Walter Scott novel. It is, however, marred by needlessly explicit sex and violence. *Braveheart* (1995), another Scottish patriotic tale, brilliantly directed by Mel Gibson, is also open to criticism for its unrestrained violence. But both are powerful morality tales about chivalry and courage in the face of ruthless adversaries. Incidentally, Tim Roth, the wonderfully wicked English courtier in *Rob Roy*, may be the long-awaited successor to Basil Rathbone as an all-purpose distinguished villain (see below, *passim*).

Notable Films about an Individual's Triumph over Adversity: *Rocky* (1976). Best Picture Oscar.

Interrupted Melody (1955). The story of opera star Marjorie Lawrence, felled by polio. Tour de force performance by Eleanor Parker (the Baroness in *Sound of Music*), the unsung greatest actress of the 1950s (e.g., in *Caged*, *Detective Story*, and *The Man with the Golden Arm*.)

Best Film about a Poor Family's Struggle to Succeed: *The Southerner* (1945). Sharecropper Zachary Scott's uncle collapses in the field and dies in his arms with the words, "Grow your own crops." This beautifully directed film (French master Jean Renoir) dramatizes the faith, love, and determination that unite Scott's family against terrible adversity; their suffering and hard work lead to fulfillment.

Best Movies about Russia's War in Afghanistan: *The Beast* (1988). Superb drama of Red Army versus *mujahedin*.

Best Movie about Defeating Terrorism: *The Final Option* (1982). Stirring film about anti-nuclear Marxist terrorists who seize hostages in U.S. Embassy in London to block

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deployment of U.S. missiles in Britain. Britain's elite Special Air Services teaches them a thing or two. Also critical of bureaucrat appeasers, this is one of the noteworthy conservative films of the 1980s.

Delta Force (1986). Chuck Norris and his all-purpose motorcycle lead U.S. commandos into downtown Beirut to rescue American hostages. Lively adventure film.

More Great Movie Tributes to the Soldiers of Freedom: *Twelve O'Clock High* (1949). Outstanding drama about "tough love" Air Force commander who saves a wartime USAAF base from demoralization. Plus *The Purple Heart* (1945); *Back to Bataan* (1945) and *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), both with John Wayne; *Battleground* (1949); and *Uncommon Valor* (1983) among many more.

SPECIAL MENTION: *Prisoner of War* (1954). Ronald Reagan as intelligence officer who arranges his own capture by North Koreans so he can document their torture of U.S. POWs. Make that man President.

But Not All Soldiers Are in Uniform: In *Casablanca* (1942), directed by Michael Curtiz, Humphrey Bogart and Claude Rains join the Allies, Ingrid Bergman joins the Resistance, and "As Time Goes By" joins the unforgettables.

Best Movies about Dropping of the Atomic Bomb: *The Beginning or the End* (1947) and *Above and Beyond* (1953). Notable for contrast with ABC's vile documentary last July on the *Enola Gay* mission and other press attacks on this harsh but necessary feat of American arms. The first film, although marred by some propaganda claims, is important because it points out that the success of the $2-billion Manhattan Project was a triumph of free enterprise. Not only scientists, but "men, women, builders, carpenters, electricians," not knowing their project, met the challenge by "working, working, working." The film respects scientists who declined to work on the bomb, but, as the Enrico Fermi character comments, "Sometimes it takes greater principles to stay than to go."

Fighters for Good against Evil: *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), with its famous score by Elmer Bernstein.

Best Films Depicting Martial Valor: *Zulu* (1964) and *Zulu Dawn* (1979). If the battle of Rorke's Drift—in which ninety Welsh soldiers beat off an attack by four thousand Zulu warriors—had not happened, we would have dismissed it as a cartoon adventure. But a heroic episode gets a superb dramatization in *Zulu* (also an early Michael Caine movie).

Best Movies about the Evil of Our Enemies: *The Hunt for Red October* (1990). Russia plans first strike against U.S. Plus *The Fourth Protocol* (1987), about a KGB nuclear terrorist (although weakened by liberal ending).

The Charge of the Light Brigade (1936), directed by Michael Curtiz. This sweeping Errol Flynn epic has nothing to do with the facts of that disaster, but it has a scene that should be required viewing for all hostage negotiators. British commander of garrison besieged along the Northwest Frontier accepts treacherous enemy Surat Khan's pledge of safe passage, only to see all men, women, and children slaughtered.

Best Swashbucklers: Mention of the intrepid Mr. Flynn inevitably brings us to this thrilling genre. What makes swashbucklers conservative? They feature bold heroes who have no difficulty at all distinguishing right from wrong: no moral relativism for these fellows. Three of the best are:

Captain Blood (1935). Still the best pirate saga. Classic duel on the beach between Flynn and his rival, the inimitable Basil Rathbone, for the hand of Olivia de Havilland, to the stirring music of Erich Wolfgang Korngold. Directed by (who else?) Michael Curtiz.

Gunga Din (1939). Cary Grant and comrades in British India. (Hollywood did more for the British Empire than Cecil Rhodes.) Sam Jaffe is the courageous sepoy who perishes as he saves the battalion: "You're a better man than I am, Gunga Din." A noteworthy point about imperial epics like *Gunga Din* and *Drums* (1938) is that anti-colonial rebels are not dismissed as savages, but allowed to state their case.

Thunder Road (1958). A swashbuckler is a flamboyant adventurer. That certainly describes Robert Mitchum in this cult classic about a slick-haired, independent hero running moonshine past "Revenooers" through the Smokey Mountains.

Happily, with the Reagan 1980s we saw a return to tradition with *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984), and *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), all directed by Steven Spielberg. Good, although slightly self-conscious, fun.

John Wayne's Oscar: *True Grit* (1969). Our aging, fat-bellied hero still has what it takes to dispatch Robert Duvall and a host of other villains as he fights for justice for a teenage girl (herself full of the right stuff).

Best John Wayne Character of Our Time: Clint Eastwood of course in, among other films, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1966), *High Plains Drifter* (1973), *Pale Rider* (1985), and the *Dirty Harry* series.

Best Adventure Film about Personal Redemption: *The Four Feathers* (1939). Branded a coward, young aristocrat redeems himself in the 1898 Sudan campaign. Perhaps the best movie celebration of imperial heroics, it contains a superb conservative speech by the heroine explaining why duty must come before happiness.

Glorifying the American Family—and Families Divided: *Ah, Wilderness* (1935). Lovely comedy of teenage growing pains in turn-of-the-century New England (from the play by, curiously, Eugene O'Neill). Affectionately directed by Clarence Brown. Funniest scene: the high-school graduation.

The Fighting Sullivans (1944). Story of five brothers who all went down for their country with the *U.S.S. Juneau* in the Solomon Islands in November 1942. Most of the film depicts their childhood and is a case study in classic family virtues.

Life with Father (1947). Mary Gaydos of New York loves William Powell (playing Clarence Day), writing: "Perhaps you have something against red-headed, heterosexual, capitalist, Eurocentrist men. Me, *I love them*." Directed (again) by the great Michael Curtiz.

Love Finds Andy Hardy (1938). One of the vastly popular series about the growing pains of young Mickey Rooney, who learns some truths at the knee of father Lewis Stone.

Of Human Hearts (1938). Young James Stewart becomes an army surgeon in the Civil War thanks to the sacrifices of his mother; but he ignores her, and for his ingratitude receives a lecture on a son's duties from no less than President Lincoln himself. Yes, it sounds corny, but this is a moving film, directed by Clarence Brown. John Carradine's Lincoln is by far the most credible performance in this impossible part.

Home from the Hill (1959). A divided Texas family, and the hurt endured by an illegitimate son whose father won't accept him. This film has the most restrained murder scene in movie history—we see no killer, no weapon, and no blood, but the

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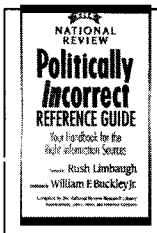

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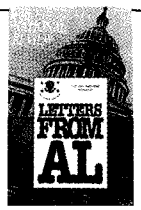

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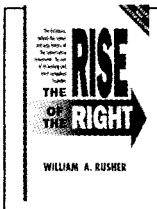

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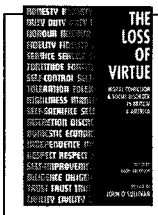

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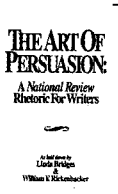

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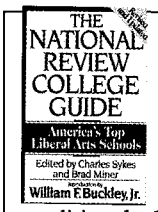
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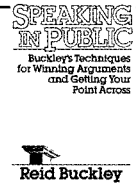

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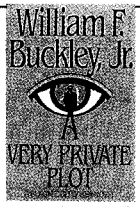

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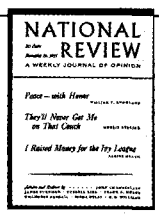

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artistry of director Vincente Minnelli (he made more than just the best musicals like *Gigi*) conveys all the horror and pathos of the crime. Is such artistry of restraint beyond the abilities of today's filmmakers? Robert Mitchum's best movie.

Best Scene Dramatizing the Sanctity of Innocent Life: *Rob Roy* (see above). Our hero's wife is raped by his enemy, but Rob Roy embraces the child she conceives as an innocent life that must be brought into the world.

Best Movies about Children Learning Virtue: *Captains Courageous* (1937). Rich brat falls off transatlantic liner and is rescued by fishing trawler. Under the tutelage of a simple, devout Portuguese fisherman, he learns to be a man. Spencer Tracy as Manuel amply earned his first Oscar for the role that made him a major star. Based on the novel by Rudyard Kipling, and directed by Victor Fleming, this is one of the outstanding films of Hollywood's Golden Age.

Boys Town (1938). Tracy retained the Oscar as Father Flanagan, who founded an orphanage for "wayward" boys: volunteerism over bureaucracy. The film reflects traditional liberal reformism in its stress on improving a child's environment—although conservative suggestions nowadays on removing neglected children to better surroundings receive liberals' scorn. Perhaps liberals worry this new environment would include religious teaching and discipline, as in the film, rather than "self-esteem."

More Classics about Religious Faith: Faith is not, of course, a matter of being conservative or liberal, but the treatment of religious themes in earlier movies reflected a society that was less secular—and thus healthier—than our own.

The Fugitive (1947). "Whisky priest" in Mexico on the run from anti-clerical government. As in Graham Greene's novel, the flawed vessel of Christianity offers more real hope for the people than the this-worldly salvation of the socialist state. Reportedly the personal favorite of director John Ford.

A Man Called Peter (1955). Biography of the Scotsman who became a minister and chaplain to the U.S. Senate.

The Keys of the Kingdom (1944). A missionary in China.

Best Conservative Romantic Movie: *Camille* (1937). This classic story of a beautiful, consumptive Parisian courtesan, who forsakes her life of riches and pleasure for the love of an earnest young diplomat, is conservative in 1996 because it is a story about responsibility and sacrifice. It also features Greta Garbo in the screen's most moving performance.

The film, directed with rich detail and nuanced understatement by George Cukor, contrasts Garbo's hedonistic life with an almost sacred depiction of marriage, family, and religious ritual. When Garbo cynically dismisses her friend Nichette's plan to marry a penniless young lawyer (they once existed), Nichette entreats her: "It's ideal to love and to marry the one you love." Their later wedding scene in the country (the priest reciting the Latin service) briefly but movingly conveys the holiness of the marriage sacrament. In another brief but telling scene, Cukor depicts the devout familial bonds of Robert Taylor's (Garbo's diplomat suitor) family, and particularly the respect of son for father (Lionel Barrymore).

The peak of Garbo's performance is the renunciation scene, when Barrymore pleads with her to end her country idyll with his son, who will be ruined if it goes on. Barrymore had come in anger and reproach. Love cannot last, he says, "unsanctified by marriage, unblessed by children or social ties." But—such is the spirituality and force of Garbo's performance—he departs with humility, gratitude, and admiration when she accedes to his pleas.

Also noteworthy from today's perspective is the eroticism conveyed by the film's understatement. In a famous scene at one of Garbo's Paris parties, Taylor has followed her into her boudoir, where he urges that she send her friends away. She agrees, but he must leave first to keep the others off guard. As he kneels before her, she leans over and kisses him all over his face—restrained by the Production Code, but white hot with passion. Such restraint also raises the dueling scene between Taylor and Garbo's aristocrat paramour (Henry Daniell) to classic status: the camera is on Garbo as she hurries out of her carriage, running to stop it. No gore, only the sound of the pistols firing, but deeply dramatic.

Camille's lavish production, the hallmark of MGM (e.g., *The Wizard of Oz*), reflects the sensibility of a more refined, civilized time. It is evident how much the studio strove for perfection: sets, costumes, Garbo's hair styles, editing, and music (one of the few successful examples of classical music as a score, arranged with keen dramatic sense by Herbert Stothart) underline the writing and acting to make a profound emotional experience.

HONORABLE MENTION: *Sense and Sensibility* (1995) for its depiction, as in *Camille*, of romantic love, and for its realization of the ideals of visual beauty and noble character. This is the best translation to film among the recent crop of Jane Austen adaptations; but both *Persuasion* and the made-for-TV *Pride and Prejudice* are fine pictures—well acted, beautifully photographed, and scrupulously attentive to period detail and atmosphere. More to the point here, they embody a classical morality of self-restraint, civility, and good manners—but also the injunction not to be deceived by outward appearances.

Best Soap-Opera Movie about Accepting Responsibility: *My Reputation* (1946). Barbara Stanwyck could have received an Oscar for this performance as a young widow with two boys. After extended mourning, she is about to accompany an officer friend to New York, only to recognize that her duty lies with her children. Her mother advises, "Young people hate convention. But as they grow older they learn conventions meet a need." When she bids her friend goodbye at the train station, he says, "You have to take responsibility. You wouldn't be you if you didn't."

Ronald Reagan's Most Charming Movie: *The Voice of the Turtle* a/k/a *One for the Book* (1947). Sgt. Reagan on wartime leave in New York is stood up by superficial Eve Arden and falls for winsome young Eleanor Parker, a fellow-unsophisticate. In a movie glowing with gossamer charm, they dance to "Danny Boy," have milk and cookies—and he sleeps on the couch. One of the many 1940s films that paint New York as a wonderfully civilized city, and *NR*'s favorite Reagan movie.

Best Scene Illustrating pre-Great Society View of Welfare: In *Love on the Run* (1936), Joan Crawford flees her London socialite wedding and is spirited off to France by Clark Gable. When she learns Gable is a reporter who has been secretly filing stories with his New York paper, she sends him packing, and he's fired. The following dialogue ensues between Miss Crawford and Gable's rival (Franchot Tone):

Tone: "He's blacklisted. Through."

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Crawford: "Can he do anything else?"

Tone: "Nothing that won't land him in jail."

Crawford: "I suppose he'll get on relief."

Tone: "He might for a few days, but that's all. They're fussy about who gets on relief."

Best Movie Dramatizing pre-Great Society View of Penology: *The Big House* (1930). Still among the best prison dramas. The inmates here have no radio and no weights. They wear grim flannel uniforms, are marched into the mess hall, and, when the guard's whistle blows, eat their gruel in silence. If they get out of line (which doesn't take much), they are deposited in the "dungeon," where they stew alone for thirty days on bread and water. And when they riot and take guards hostage, Warden Lewis Stone answers their demand for freedom: "I'll see 'em in Hell first. Let 'em have it." Whereupon his machine guns open up and the tanks crash through the inmates' barricade. Or was the lower crime-rate in those Depression days just a coincidence?

Best Movies about Capital Punishment: *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938). Murderer James Cagney agrees to the request of Father Pat O'Brien to feign fear as he heads to the electric chair in order to give a moral lesson in the wages of sin to the Bowery Boys. Another Michael Curtiz winner, and a welcome contrast to amoral blood baths like *Bonnie and Clyde* and *The Godfather*.

Just Cause (1995). Liberal law professor saves victim of police brutality from Death Row—only to find he really is a vicious murderer. In today's Hollywood, this is a surprise.

Best Movie about Government Economic Controls: *A Private Function* (1985). Confronted with British Labor government's rationing, three local worthies fatten up an illegal pig. The vet's socially ambitious wife discovers the plot, and a British class-war comedy breaks out. *All Creatures Great and Small* laced with arsenic.

The Editor's Favorite Satire on Modern Manners: *Serial* (1979). Hilarious send-up of "liberated" Northern California customs from granola to marriage ("I declare thee to be pair-bonded for so long as you find it mutually enriching"), drawn from Cyra MacFadden's martini-dry satire. Brilliant off-beat casting includes Christopher "Dracula" Lee as leader of gay San Francisco bikers.

Four More Conservative Comedies: *Being There* (1979). The always brilliant Peter Sellers as an obscure, hermit-like gardener who finds himself the darling of Washington's power elite and a media sage. Is "being there," rather than knowing anything, a secret to Washington success? Sellers does dispense two bits of wisdom: Let the economy grow on its own like a garden (though it's not clear the film takes a positive view of this advice) and—horrors—he doesn't read the *New York Times* or *Washington Post*!

Sullivan's Travels (1942). Joel McCrea as Hollywood comedy director (*Ants in the Pants of 1933*) who wants to make socially significant films (*Brother, Where Art Thou?*) but accidentally lands in a Southern prison where he learns that the oppressed masses would rather laugh than be uplifted. This comedy has an unexpectedly moving scene that has probably done more to undermine racism than anything out of Washington—a black preacher urges his dirt-poor congregation not to shun the prisoners when they arrive shackled for Sunday service; they are God's children too. Written and directed by Preston Sturges. Mr. McCrea, incidentally, was the staunchest of Hollywood conservatives.

Brother Orchid (1940). Edward G. Robinson as hood who takes refuge as a monk in a monastery. At first he tries to work the monastic system to his own advantage, but he soon learns the real truths of life from the other monks.

Harry's War (1981). Postman battles IRS.

Best Tax-Revolt Movie: *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938). Rush Limbaugh once noted that Robin Hood is actually the story of taking from the government and giving to the poor and middle class. Here Errol Flynn is the definitive Robin in another great triumph of Hollywood's Golden Age, directed by (you guessed it!) Michael Curtiz, with William Keighley. We first encounter Flynn galloping his horse as the camera cuts to a close-up of his confident, smiling face. This heroic romanticism characterizes the entire film, from the early Technicolor verdant greens and shimmering light that evoke Sherwood Forest as Arcadia, to the balcony scene between Flynn and Olivia de Havilland (Maid Marian), accompanied by a gorgeous love theme from Erich Wolfgang Korngold's Richard Strauss–Puccini-like score. Supply-siders will love the ambush of the villains in Sherwood and even Keynesians will relish the duel (photographed in silhouette against monumental castle walls) between Flynn and Basil Rathbone. Run through, Rathbone plunges into the moat, and Flynn leaps down a stairway to the dungeon into Miss de Havilland's loving arms, all to triumphant Korngold fanfares.

Finest Unsung Anti-Communist Movie: Hollywood's political transformation in the 1960s sent a large batch of anti-Communist movies down the memory hole. *The Red Danube* (1949) is the best of them—a striking drama about forced repatriation of Russians in postwar Vienna. The conflict is one of Christianity against Communism. A decent, atheist British officer (Walter Pidgeon) thinks it his duty to return to the Russian sector a young ballerina (the lovely Janet Leigh) who has been given sanctuary in a convent. After a series of debates with the Mother Superior (Ethel Barrymore) and the suicide of the ballerina, he eventually understands how faith helps one recognize evil ("This is what men do to other men when they don't believe in God"). Excellent script and cast, including the young Angela Lansbury as

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Pidgeon's service driver. Occasionally seen late at night on TNT—but, then, so is the absurdly pro-Stalinist *Mission to Moscow*.

More Anti-Communist Movies: *The Conspirator* (1949) features the gorgeous 17-year-old Elizabeth Taylor as wife of British officer and Red spy. Her shock and disgust on learning of his treason, as if he had the plague, is a valuable reminder of the early resolute Cold War spirit.

Of course, the greatest anti-Communist movie is, improbably, a comedy: *Ninotchka* (1939), directed by Ernst Lubitsch, written by Charles Brackett and Billy Wilder, starring Garbo and Melvyn Douglas. This appeared in the first list of best con. ative films, but it must be mentioned again because, underneath the jokes, it is a powerful defense of humane values against totalitarian "virtue."

Example: "How are things in Moscow?"

"Very good. The last mass trials were a great success. There are going to be fewer but better Russians."

Also be sure to see *Pickup on South Street* (1953), directed by Samuel Fuller; *The Woman on Pier 13* a/k/a *I Married a Communist* (1949); *The Prisoner* (1955); *The Seduction of Mimi* (Italy, 1974); *Night People* (1954); *High Treason* (1952); *Guilty of Treason* (1950), about the Cardinal Mindszenty case; and the recent *Burned by the Sun* (1995).

Another Classic about the Inhumanity of Mass Revolution: *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1935). Cross out "Bolsheviks," insert "Jacobins"—and send in languid aristocrat Leslie Howard to rescue the victims and wife Merle Oberon from Robespierre's left-hand man, played by Raymond Massey (second only to Basil Rathbone in portraying distinguished villains). Interestingly, Howard actually was a British agent in World War II.

Two More Great Movies about the Value of Tradition: *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* (1939). Robert Donat, who won the Oscar for Best Actor, is superb as the shy teacher whose long service wins the affection of generations of schoolboys. Telling moment: Mr. Chips, reading out list of teachers and old boys killed in World War I, includes the former teacher of German who died fighting on the other side.

Tunes of Glory (1960). A Scottish regiment falls into turmoil when army bureaucrat tries to override its traditions.

Best Movie Depicting America as One Culture: *It's a Big Country* (1952). Eight short stories about the immigrant experience, with an all-star cast (Gene Kelly, Gary Cooper, Fredric March, Nancy Davis). Best line: "Religion is part of the heart of American culture." Note the producer, liberal Dore Schary. Liberal then, conservative today: because the Clintons' secular and multicultural politics are radical; they have abandoned traditional liberalism. Where today's liberals prattle about "diversity," Schary's movie ends: "America, one nation, indivisible."

Best Movie Critique of Multiculturalism: *Around the World in Eighty Days* (Best Picture of 1956). Intrepid Phileas Fogg (David Niven), exemplar of British imperial phlegm, rescues Indian princess from suttee funeral pyre (young Shirley MacLaine, of all people!). Many critics today undoubtedly would object. After all, if that's the Indian custom, what right has Fogg to impose Western values?

Best Anti-Anti-American Movie: *Barcelona* (1994) describes the last gasp of European anti-Americanism—the Soviet-inspired campaign to halt U.S. missile deployment in the early Eighties—through the eyes of two young Americans trying to pick up Spanish girls. Good fun.

Best Conservative Science-Fiction Movies: *Frankenstein* (1931) and *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1932) explore the consequences of hubris—Dr. F.'s "insane ambition" and "mad dream." Sounds like the Great Society—except that Mr. Hyde and the Monster don't live on indefinitely.

The Thing (1951). The scientist as Rationalist Fool. Researchers in the Arctic defrost a visitor from outer space who is not friendly. Here is an early prototype of the scientists behind SANE and the nuclear freeze, and who oppose any common-sense policy to defend ourselves. Best scene: the scientist attempts to negotiate.

Best Conservative Musicals: MGM's *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), *An American in Paris* (1951), and *The Bandwagon* (1953). They are conservative because Gene Kelly, Fred Astaire, and director Vincente Minnelli celebrate common sense and professionalism over pretension and phoniness. They have no designs on us, they simply want to divert and amuse.

Best Conservative Special-Effects Movie: *San Francisco* (1936), for the famous earthquake. Clark Gable as blasphemous gambler finds faith through priest friend Spencer Tracy and beautiful, devout Jeanette MacDonald.

Best Scene Illustrating Press Irresponsibility: *King Kong* (1933). As the giant ape is being exhibited in a New York theater, the press is invited onto the stage to photograph Ann Darrow (Fay Wray) standing before him. The flash bulbs enrage the beast and his captor demands they stop: "He thinks you're attacking the girl." The photographers click away, one saying: "Let him roar. It's a swell picture." The rest of the story is, as they say, history.

Best Movie Illustrating Politicians' Blather: In Hitchcock's *The 39 Steps* (1935), our hero on the run finds himself in a political meeting, where he is mistaken for the official introducing the candidate. He proceeds to deliver a hilarious parody of windy oratory—and gets a standing ovation.

HONORABLE MENTION: *A Face in the Crowd* (1957). This

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will stand as the best movie depiction of an Arkansas demagogue until Barbra Streisand produces a movie biography of the 42nd President. A striking film about TV image manipulation, ahead of its time. Directed by Elia Kazan.

Best Conservative Silent Movies: *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), *America* (1926), both by the father of all directors, D. W. Griffith; plus *Ben Hur* (1925); *The Iron Horse* (1924), directed by John Ford; and *Noah's Ark* (1929), an early Michael Curtiz gem in which the flood was so realistic that some extras drowned.

Best Conservative Shorts: *The Sons of Liberty*, with Claude Rains as Hayim Solomon, who comes to the financial rescue of Washington's Army, and dies reciting the Declaration of Independence. (One more by Michael Curtiz.)

The Monroe Doctrine. The melodramatic sweep and production panache of *Casablanca* applied to U.S. history.

An Airman's Letter to His Mother. U.K. film by Michael Powell, based on fact, in which RAF officer penned an eloquent statement of war aims before he was shot down.

And Our Gang in *Three Smart Guys*, wherein the boys play hooky and go fishing, only to receive a lesson in how those who study catch the biggest fish of all. □

Birth of a Nation

A. J. BACEVICH

FACE it: George Washington has become virtually a nonentity. Although official iconography keeps the face familiar, the man and his deeds have long since faded into obscurity. Washington's contributions to the founding of the United States have lost their capacity to impress or to instruct. Indeed, his once-hallowed title, "Father of his Country," today sounds not only overblown but slightly comic, like King of Late Night or Queen of Pop. George Washington may be the most-honored forgotten man in American history. He is at the moment, writes Richard Brookhiser, "in our textbooks and our wallets, but not our hearts."

Founding Father: Rediscovering George Washington, by Richard Brookhiser (Free Press, 215 pp., $25)

That reduced condition provides the inspiration for this thoughtful book. For Brookhiser, a senior editor at *NR*, Washington remains a colossal figure, pre-eminent in all American history. That others should have lost sight of Washington's greatness is for Brookhiser symptomatic of what ails America today, particularly our inability to recognize true character and true leadership and our continuing tendency in politics to throw in with the energetic charlatan or the mountebank with the engaging TV manner. So Brookhiser's purpose is explicitly didactic: he aims to imbue others with his own ardent appreciation of Washington's accomplishments and abiding relevance. Restoring Washington to his proper status may thus contribute in a modest way to advancing the cause of moral and political renewal.

The result is a lively, intelligent, eminently satisfying work. *Founding Father* is not a full-scale life-and-times portrait of the first President. Rather, it is "a moral biography in the tradition of Plutarch," a literary form consciously designed "to shape the minds and hearts of those who read it."

Founding Father divides into three sections. The first section, most closely resembling standard biography, recounts the three pivotal episodes in Washington's public life: commanding the Continental Army throughout the Revolution, presiding at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and serving two terms as President. The author's rendering of his tale is straightforward, concise, and informative. His tone throughout is admiring, almost worshipful, although punctuated with acerbic asides, usually at the expense of those causing grief for Brookhiser's hero. Thus, for example, Brookhiser attributes to Thomas Jefferson, Washington's not altogether loyal first Secretary of State, "the deep deviousness that is given only to the pure of heart."

The book's second section takes the form of an extended examination of the sources of Washington's greatness—the qualities that made him an inspirational military leader, a sagacious statesman, and above all a virtuous man. Spurring Washington to accept great responsibility and guiding his conduct once in high office, according to Brookhiser, was a virtual obsession with reputation. Above all else, Washington the public figure was preoccupied with how others viewed him. This preoccupation had nothing to do with a yearning for fame or notoriety or the achievement of lofty estate. It had everything to do with a fixed resolve to be judged honorable by his peers. For Washington and his contemporaries, "reputation was held to be the true measure of one's character." Failure in a worthy enterprise could be forgiven but "dishonor was an inexpungeable blot."

The third and most insightful section of *Founding Father* takes up the theme of Washington as putative head of the national family. Although, as the author notes, Americans in Washington's own time and for generations to follow deferred to him as "father," the cultural upheaval of the past thirty years has rendered that honorific passé.

The problem is not with Washington himself, but with the very concept of family and the role traditionally attributed to fathers within the family unit. Advanced thinkers have come to regard family as a prop for Patriarchy. They have transformed fatherhood into a metaphor for oppression and the denial of freedom. Washington's slow fade into the shadows of national memory occurred as a byproduct of this radical reorientation. Indeed, writes Mr. Brookhiser, "The contemporary failure of fatherhood is perhaps the subtlest barrier to our understanding of Washington, the greatest source of the distance between us and him."

Brookhiser launches a direct assault against that barrier. He rejects the notion that Washington's claim to be Father of his Country rests upon grandiloquent tributes from another age now beyond our ken. Rather, it flows naturally from Washington's supreme accomplishment and greatest legacy.

For nearly a quarter century—a length of time, Brookhiser reminds us, without parallel in American history—Washington was the most powerful per-

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son in the land. Yet at the end of the Revolutionary War and again at the end of his second term as President, Washington voluntarily surrendered that power, despite the fact that there existed no precedent for doing so and indeed when many were urging him to retain it: this, according to Brookhiser, was Washington's ultimate and most telling contribution to his countrymen. Like the good father who understands that his children must live their own lives, Washington recognized that the republic he had labored mightily to create could survive and prosper only if he turned it loose. By removing himself from the stage and retiring to Mount Vernon, he returned power to the people, thrusting upon them the responsibility for shaping their own destiny. Washington, in Brookhiser's judgment, proved himself "worthy of honor because the last thing he had done with power was to resign it."

Yet Mr. Brookhiser is not content simply to assert this claim to honor. In recounting Washington's extraordinary contributions, he aims to inspire not only respect but affection. Conceding that "Washington's reserve frustrates our cravings for emotional intimacy and personal detail," he nonetheless hopes that a renewed appreciation for Washington's role as Father will restore him to his place as first in the hearts of his countrymen.

Yet that particular goal may exceed the author's reach. Indeed, the goal itself may be inadvisable. With Bill and Al, Bob and Newt, and all the rest who clamor for public attention and public adulation already assaulting us with their pseudo-familiarity—at a time when we know the President's preference in underwear and too many details of his sex life—perhaps what that national family needs is not a greater sense of intimacy with our political leaders but a revival of dignity and respect. By instructing us forcefully and eloquently as to the substance of Washington's greatness, Richard Brookhiser offers a reminder of what leadership and character—and even fatherhood—once meant in this country. At a time of monumental change, when we have managed to confuse ourselves about even the most elementary matters, such a reminder could hardly be more timely or more welcome. □

Village Person

ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE

HILLARY Rodham Clinton chose the title of her new book from the African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child," because, she says, the proverb "offers a timeless reminder that children will thrive only if their families thrive and if the whole of society cares enough to provide for them." "Nothing," she concludes, "is more important to our shared future than the well-being of children. For children are at our core—not only as vulnerable beings in need of love and care but as a moral touchstone amidst the complexity and contentiousness of modern life." As an antidote to that complexity and contentiousness, Mrs. Clinton offers the folksy image of the village with its nostalgic evocations of a simpler, more harmonious past.

It Takes a Village flows as effortlessly and comfortably as an intimate chat over coffee or iced tea, skillfully blending personal anecdotes, unimpeachable pieties, and carefully shrouded policy prescriptions. Settling into a welcoming armchair or a rocker on the porch, the reader is lulled into acquiescence by inviting chat and familiar home truths. Mrs. Clinton writes of a wondrous transformation that engulfed her and Mr. Clinton following Chelsea's birth. She takes us back into her and Bill's childhood and introduces us to family members, while she marvels at the different ways in which with love and solicitude parents can make things come out right even under difficult circumstances, provided the village supports their efforts. We follow Chelsea through childhood and adolescence, although without invading her privacy. And always, from the lives of the Rodhams, the Clintons, and the many people Mrs. Clinton has encountered, we learn object lessons about the importance of religion and service, the bonds of communities, and the heroic resilience of families. Time and again Mrs. Clinton reminds us that even the best families can never do it alone.

It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us, by Hillary Rodham Clinton (Simon & Schuster, 318 pp., $20)

Today, families face more formidable difficulties in ensuring a decent childhood and future for their children than they did in even the recent past. Thus, as she focuses on the present, the pacans to civic institutions, voluntary associations, and communities increasingly intertwine with reminders of the centrifugal forces that are mustering against them. Economic concentration, global corporations, downsizing, divorce, violence on television, video games, irresponsible commercials, crime, the failure of education, and more have put the coherence and resilience of families at high risk.

Mrs. Clinton scrupulously refrains from blaming individuals for our current travails. Neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party receives specific mention. At most, she raps the knuckles of those unnamed individuals who believe differently than she, especially those who favor a decisive reduction in the scope and actions of the Federal Government. In contrast, she warmly commends individuals and companies of whose policies and actions she approves, including "my husband" and Al Gore. In general, her recommendations for the ways in which we might improve our "village" so as to support the work of families remain so general as to appear disingenuous.

As a result, throughout most of the book she says little with which any moderately responsible and decent adult could disagree—at least in public. Who does not want children to benefit from supportive families, safe neighborhoods, good education, and wholesome entertainment? Indeed, Mrs. Clinton frequently takes a more conservative position on some sensitive issues than many of her liberal allies may feel comfortable with. She acknowledges that divorce almost always harms children, that television programming should be restricted or at least clearly rated for its violent content, that there might be a place for uniforms in public schools. She writes boldly of the value of prayer, church af-

Mrs. Fox-Genovese teaches at Emory University. Her most recent book is Feminism Is Not the Story of My Life.

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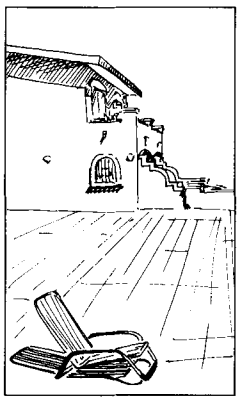
filiation, and religious education. She even warmly endorses children's need for both a mother and a father.

In more ways than one, *It Takes a Village* disconcertingly resembles Mr. Clinton's recent State of the Union address: It is a skillful, seductive, and engaging performance. The rhetoric and "values" expressed make this book hard not to like. In this case, as in an increasing number of cases these days, the problem lies not with the rhetoric or the values, but with the underlying commitments and attendant policies to which they are bound and which they implicitly articulate. To the extent possible, Mrs. Clinton avoids naming the policies over which honest people might disagree, but the informed reader should not find it difficult to recognize her preferences.



The need to promote children's health leads her to praise the 1993 vaccination program and bemoan the budget cutbacks that threaten it, but we hear nary a word about the charges that it has resulted in the needless waste of vaccine. Predictably, her discussion of the importance of service includes a resounding endorsement of AmeriCorps. Thus, even as she praises private voluntary associations, she reminds us that they, too, require government assistance. Withal, Mrs. Clinton exercises admirable discretion in urging governmental intervention in the lives of families and communities. When she speaks of how children can be our consciences "if we don't burden them with stereotypes" and if we "teach them affirmative thinking and feeling," she may well intend parents to do the teaching. But then again, she may not. Since the National Educational Association has ranked among the most generous contributors to her husband's presidential campaigns, it is equally plausible that she expects the war against stereotypes to be conducted by professional educators.

If ambiguity shrouds the chapters that touch directly upon the prerogatives of families, churches, and communities, the veil lifts when Mrs. Clinton turns to what she views as the role of the soulless, profit-hungry corporations that pollute our environment, corrupt the minds of our children, and exploit American workers. Suddenly the Federal Government emerges from the shadows to assume its proper role as the honest sheriff in pursuit of the outlaws, and out comes the new campaign platform: an increase in the minimum wage, tax deductions for education, a GI Bill for workers, and all the rest we were promised in the State of the Union address. Whatever the merit of the discrete proposals, they are all unabashedly partisan and require sustained and informed debate. Here, however, they are disingenuously advanced as what all Americans want, with no acknowledgment of their possible cost in dollars or quality of life.

It Takes a Village remains strangely reticent on the issue of "children's rights," to which Mrs. Clinton has devoted so much energy, yet the attentive reader will readily recognize the traces of that commitment which informs many of her recommendations. Take education. The polls tell us that 67 per cent of Americans now regard education as their major concern. Education, she informs us, equals expectations. She has never, she insists, met a "stupid" child, only children "whom adults insist on calling 'stupid' when the children don't perform in a way that conforms to adult expectations." And then she lays into the "Bell Curve." The implicit logic seems to be that if some children appear less adept at learning than others, adults have failed them, usually by not expecting enough of them.

Those of us who have met stupid children, whose human worth we value and about whose lives we worry, are concerned about how best to prepare them to lead productive lives. The solution, Mrs. Clinton believes, lies in national standards and a variety of other enhanced education programs. If a child has difficulty in reading, the teacher should ask the child to express himself through drawing. The juxtaposition of drawing instead of reading with national standards opens appalling possibilities about the meaning Mrs. Clinton attaches to national standards, but that is another matter. Here it may be enough to note that she views educational success—not opportunity—as any child's "right" and that her vision of improved education assigns the principal role to government and schools rather than to parents, family environment, and children's different natural abilities.

The cozy, confidential chat of *It Takes*

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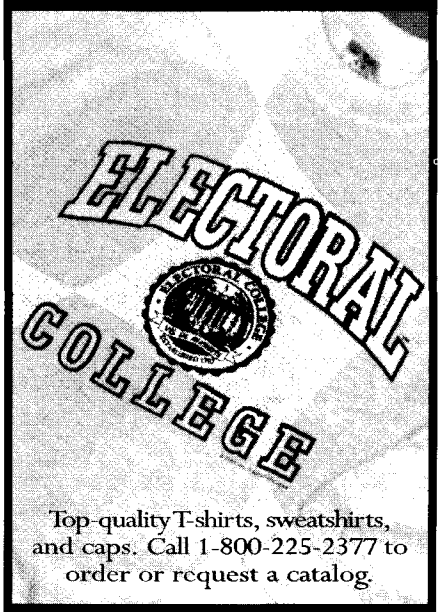

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a Village thinly disguises an engaged partisanship designed, above all, to ensure the re-election of the author's husband. The problem does not lie in her partisanship: Any loyal wife would do as much. The problem lies in the political reticence that prevents her from a full and open contribution to the national debate we badly need. For the issues she raises are of pressing concern to us all, and we do differ over what they require. If there is any lesson to be learned from this book, it surely must be that pious rhetoric and the evocation of values mean nothing when not forthrightly tied to strategies and policies that might help us to realize them in the lives of ordinary American families. The appalling evidence of children's distress and alienation leaves no doubt that a village cannot raise a child. It takes a family—ideally a mother and a father—to raise a child, and the village's first responsibility is not to hamper them in doing so. But then, rhetoric notwithstanding, Mrs. Clinton does not ultimately attribute much importance to mere parents, since, as she affirms in conclusion, "Children, after all, are citizens too." □

A G-Man in Brezhnev's Court

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Operation Solo: The FBI's Man in the Kremlin, by John Barron (Regnery, 368 pp., $29.95)

WITH the end of the Cold War, some fascinating stories have begun to come to light. In this bombshell of a book, John Barron, author of the best-seller *The KGB*, reveals one of the most astonishing of them all—a story so gripping that it will capture the public imagination and permanently alter the balance of opinion on a number of major subjects.

Morris Childs, born Moishe Chilovsky near Kiev in 1902, emigrated to America with his mother in 1911, and in 1921 joined the United Communist Party of America. Working in its ranks, he caught the attention of Communist leader Earl Browder, who arranged for him to attend the Lenin School in Moscow from 1929–32. There Morris developed close friendships with two of his instructors: Yuri Andropov and Mikhail Suslov, later respectively the longtime head of the KGB and the Politburo's chief ideologist.

The significance of these contacts became apparent just a few years later, when Moscow ordered the American Party to put Morris in charge of Chicago and on the Party's governing Central Committee. In 1945 he became editor of the *Daily Worker*—only to be fired two years later by Browder's enemies, who had captured control of the Party.

Disillusioned with Communism and weakened by a serious heart condition, Morris was sidelined for several years. It was during those years, through his brother Jack (who was also in the Party, and also disgusted with it), that the FBI recruited both men. Both, it was agreed, would remain in the Party—as "assets" of the Bureau.

The Party's elders knew how highly Moscow thought of Morris, and in 1957 Eugene Dennis, then leader of the CPUSA, appointed Morris as his deputy and put him in charge of all dealings with foreign Communist parties, including the Russians and the Chinese. In April 1958 the Soviets invited him to Moscow.

Thus began Operation Solo, one of the longest and most successful operations ever conducted by the FBI. Over the next 23 years, Morris Childs made 52 separate trips to the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, including China and Cuba. Together with his wife, Eva, and Jack, he smuggled a grand total of $28 million in U.S. currency from Moscow to the waiting leaders of its wholly owned subsidiary, the CPUSA—after the serial numbers on every bill had been carefully noted, en route, by the FBI.

Gus Hall, who succeeded Dennis as head of the CPUSA in 1959, called Morris "my secretary of state," and insisted that he precede or accompany him whenever Hall himself went to Moscow. As for the Soviets, they lionized Morris. A comfortable apartment was set aside for him in Moscow. On almost every visit he spent hours with Andropov and Suslov, who sought his opinion on U.S. politics and similar matters, and confided to him the hopes and fears of the Politburo regarding China, Cuba, and the United States. Boris Ponomarev, head of the International Department of the Central Committee (formerly the Comintern), became another close confidant. In time Morris also came to know Khrushchev (who hailed him as "the last of the true Bolsheviks"), and later Brezhnev (who, at a dinner in his honor in the Kremlin, pinned the Order of Lenin on his chest). There were also immensely valuable conversations with Mao, Chou En-lai, and Castro, among many others.

Operation Solo was undoubtedly the FBI's most successful penetration effort, and very probably its longest-running. High American officials who saw, but were not allowed to keep, memos reporting the substance of Morris's talks with major Communist leaders (e.g., confirming the rupture between the Soviet Union and Red China, which many experts dismissed as a hoax) became obsessed with their importance, and insisted that the operation continue at all costs. But not even Presidents were told the identity of the "assets" until attacks on the FBI in the mid 1970s caused it to fear that domestic pressures might lead to disclosure. Thereupon President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were informed.

In 1981, when Morris was 79, the decision was made that the danger of discovery by Moscow was reaching a critical point, and Operation Solo was reluctantly closed down. Jack had already died, and one fine day in the summer of 1981 Morris and Eva disappeared from their usual haunts, under the Bureau's famous Witness Protection Program. The CPUSA and Moscow searched for them frantically but unsuccessfully, and were left to wonder when they had been "turned" and how many of Communism's deepest secrets they had revealed. Neither the Party, nor anyone else outside a small circle, ever learned that in 1987 President Reagan conferred on Morris Childs, and posthumously on

Mr. Rusher, NR's former publisher, is a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute.

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Jack, the Medal of Freedom—the highest civilian award an American President can bestow.

Morris survived to give John Barron numerous interviews detailing Operation Solo, and to witness the fall of the Berlin Wall, which foretold the end of Soviet Communism. He died in June 1991, and the FBI managed to conceal that final fact from his enemies. Eva lived on, rightly proud of all that she and her husband were able to accomplish for the nation they loved.

It will be interesting to see how the liberals handle this one. The whole long story is a tremendous feather in the cap of the FBI, which they have been so eager to criticize for the past twenty years. The individual FBI agents who worked on the operation, in some cases for decades, are correctly regarded by Barron as heroes in their own right, and he tells their personal stories in detail.

Operation Solo can never, of course, compensate for the ten American agents in Eastern Europe who were executed by the Russians when they were identified by Moscow's CIA mole, Aldrich Ames. But it will lift many an American heart to know that, thanks to Morris Childs and the FBI, this country scored a brilliant, almost incredible series of victories in that long twilight struggle known as the Cold War. □

DELECTATIONS

A Prince among Men

TAKI THEODORACOPULOS

ONE of the most pleasant and recurring of my daydreams is the one of Prince Philip giving a lecture in a politically correct American university. The Duke of Edinburgh does not suffer fools gladly, nor would he be easily intimidated by the multiculturalists that pervade our campuses nowadays. Unlike the War Hero in the White House, Philip saw action in the Second World War, and is known for his personal courage.

Prince Philip is by blood very royal indeed. On his mother's side he is a direct descendant of Queen Victoria, and through his father he descends from the Danish and Greek royal families but also from the Russian imperial family. He was born on the kitchen table, as was then the custom in my country, in 1921, on the isle of Corfu. One year later the British navy rescued him from a leftist mob that would surely have shot him and his parents *à la* the Czar.

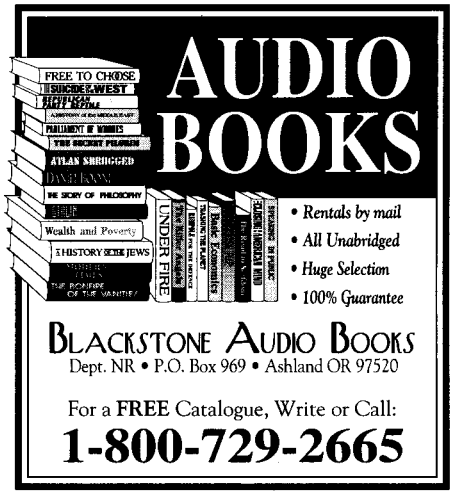
This, I presume, is the reason why Prince Philip is not wet like so many of his fellow royals, nor as lefty as even his own son, Prince Charles. (Having myself seen a revolutionary mob up close—in my case in 1944—I have very little patience with police review boards, public defendants, and anyone to the left of Steve Forbes.)

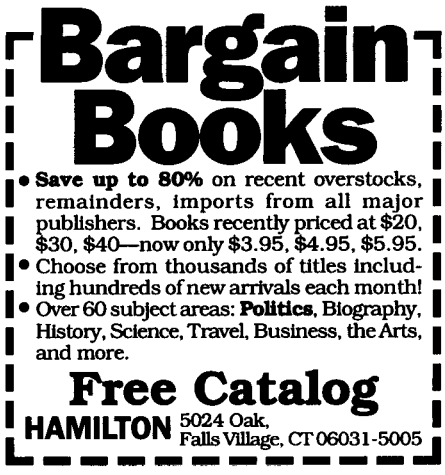
Philip is currently getting a going over by the intrusive British media following a biography of Queen Elizabeth by Sarah Bradford that alleges he not only cheats on his wife, he is also a difficult husband who shouts at the Queen. The reason the book has received so much publicity is that the author is a viscountess and rather well connected. The media in general and the British tabloids in particular are very impressed by titles. But nobility is no guarantee of accuracy. My own information is that the Queen simply adores her husband, and is sufficiently worldly and realistic to know that a naval officer like Philip has traveled the globe and sampled what it has to offer. In his younger days Philip was devastatingly handsome, and women threw themselves at him. Whether he succumbed or not nobody knows because he has always kept his private life imperiously private.

The Queen has been madly in love with Philip since she was 13, and although in the book he is alleged to have berated her once and called her stupid—for ordering some work in the park at Windsor—even there I have my doubts. If he said it at all, he probably meant it in jest, as joking and pulling people's legs is his favorite pastime.

In fact, breaking the ice is the Duke's specialty. In Scotland recently, he

Mr. Theodoracopulos is the author of Nothing to Declare.

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expressed good-natured surprise to a driving instructor that any of the locals remained sober long enough to pass their tests. It was a gentle quip aimed to defuse tension. He did not imply that all Scots are drunks, rather that people in Scotland know how to have fun. Many drinkers I know, myself of course included, were delighted. After all, it's true. People in Scotland are known to get paralytic. Leftist PC busybodies went bananas. His remark, far from being impolite, perhaps had something to do with the band that greeted him and the Queen as they went on their walkabout. Among the tunes it played was a popular Scottish melody, "Campbeltown Loch, I Wish You Were Whisky."

Personally speaking, if we had more of Prince Philip's humor and less earnestness in the manner of Mrs. Clinton, I would return and live in America. (Better showers, better plumbing, better weather, better teeth.) In 1993 he told a Briton he met in Budapest that "you can't have been here long—you haven't got a belly." More hand-wringing from the Left. But, as always, the Prince was right. Hungarian food is extremely delicious and very fattening. As anyone who has been to Hungary will testify, a slim person is as unusual there as a Clinton telling the truth.

Another joke I liked was about the Chinese. During a royal visit in 1986, Philip described Peking as "ghastly"—which it is, due to Communist architecture and central planning—and told some British students, "If you stay here much longer you'll all be slitty-eyed." This one almost resulted in war with China, or at least this is what the papers said back home. The Chinese didn't mind at all. They refer to our physical characteristics all the time, so why shouldn't we to theirs? The Chinese, after all, are slitty-eyed and proud of it.

Another good one was in Canada. Said Philip: "We don't come here for our health. We can think of other ways of enjoying ourselves." All he did there was say what the Canadians say about themselves non-stop. After all, Canada's boondocks can get slightly boring.

He also gave it to the women all the way back in 1966. That is when he declared "British women can't cook." And they can't.

The elevation of self-pity into a political doctrine, as has happened in the United States, is the only reason candor is nowadays treated as being worse than treason. Imagine the fun Prince Philip would have in the U.S. if he ran into Al Sharpton or Marion Barry. There is a Saki short story about "The Woman Who Told the Truth" and the trouble she got herself into. The Duke of Edinburgh is a true navy man. I hope he lives to be a hundred and keeps on telling it like it is. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Primary Colors, by Anonymous (Random House, 366 pages, $24)

A SURREPTITIOUS peek at the Clintons' 1992 presidential campaign, *Primary Colors* is the sort of book that should make the First Couple see red, and the White House press corps green with envy. Narrator Henry Burton (i.e., George Stephanopolous) tells the tale of Jack and Susan Stanton's race for the Presidency. Although the story kisses farewell to reality at about the midpoint, the first half especially is a delightful reminiscence which animates the public facts of the campaign with crisp conversations, sharp characterizations, and devilish insinuations. The intelligentsia maintains that because the book is a novel, the author is insulated from libel charges. Which assumes, of course, that he needs protection. But, after all, how could Jack Stanton's black love-child be anything other than pure fantasy? And isn't it unthinkable that Mrs. Clinton and Stephanopolous could have had a fling? The sheer preposterousness of these incidents makes the book irresistible. *Primary Colors* has done for Bill Clinton what Shakespeare did for Henry V—which is a lesson, really. Don't stick your tongue out at History because you might get stuck that way.

—Andrew Oliver II

Gideon's Torch, by Charles Colson and Ellen Vaughn (Word, 551 pp., $21.99)

WHILE ostensibly writing an "inside Washington" melodrama, the authors have a greater underlying interest in ideological argument—the abortion debate, with a dash of born-again Christianity and some worries about the Constitutional conflict between absolute principle and democratic validation. Characterization tends to lose out. The story tells how a newly elected liberal Republican administration, lacking any philosophic compass, is gradually corrupted, and drawn into tyrannical behavior, when confronting a campaign of violence by anti-abortionists. A doctor is murdered, a research laboratory blown up, a member of the administration kills himself, and—horror of horrors—a TV network is interrupted. These turns of the plot were conceived and written, a prefatory note tells us, long before the death of Vincent Foster, the murders at abortion clinics, or the Oklahoma City bombing. Novels like this also provoke a question of literary principle. What is the justification for cramming into 551 pages a story that could have been told perfectly well in 50? Is it enough that the narrative does grip, and therefore passes the time quite satisfyingly? —Anthony Lejeune

Churchill: The Unruly Giant, by Norman Rose (Free Press, 516 pp., $25)

CHURCHILL is one of the few figures who actually deserve multi-volume biographies. His is a life-affirming story, full of incident, a life triumphant (as one biography has it). But Churchill's victories were, ultimately, pyrrhic. Not only did the British people give him "the order of the boot" in 1945, but, as he realized toward the end of his days, he had "become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." If one wants the life, with the benefit of the most modern scholarship, delivered briskly and well, one would be hard-pressed to do better than Norman Rose's volume. His most important insight is to cast Churchill as a radical centrist, devoted to the idea of coalition governments—not, needless to say, because Churchill was a mushy wet, but because he believed Great Britain needed the guidance of her best and most original minds (his), regardless of party (his being subject to change), to meet the crisis of the twentieth century (in which he achieved his apotheosis).

—H. W. Crocker III

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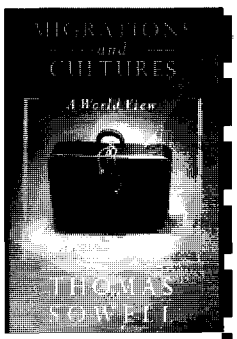

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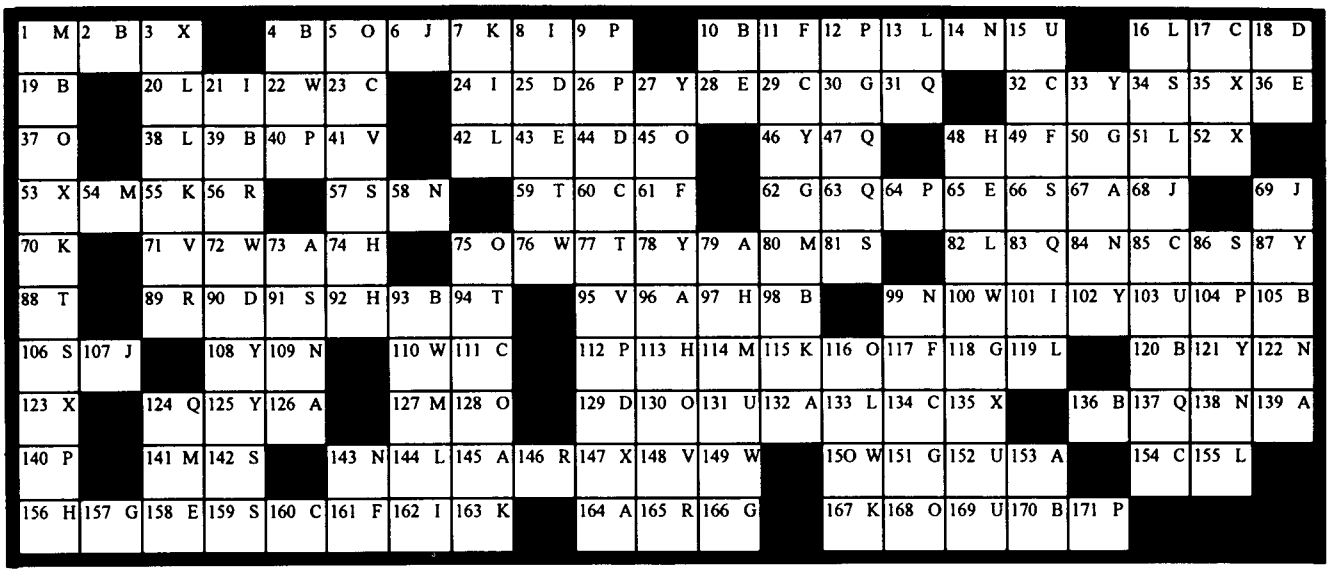
TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



DEFINITIONS:

A. Rollicking good-humor — 145 96 139 126 132 164 67 73 79 153

B. Tutoring time for professors and their charges (2 words) — 2 120 136 105 10 93 19 39 170 98 4

C. Partisan's watchword (Heb.) — 134 23 17 154 32 85 29 111 160 60

D. Shout triumphantly — 44 25 90 129 18

E. Birthday celebration — 28 158 36 65 43

F. Precursor to "Ho," when you're lifting a sea chest — 117 161 11 49 61

G. Cajole, flatter — 151 62 50 118 166 157 30

H. Sprinkle — 113 92 156 97 74 48

I. Russia's currency — 162 21 101 8 24

J. Like OMB's flush fiscal forecasts — 6 69 107 68

K. Political figure, fit for coining or hanging — 7 70 167 115 55 163

L. Anniversary kept with (sobered) resolutions (3 words) — 13 133 16 38 42 144 51 20 119 82 155

M. Flaubert's adulterous Emma — 127 141 114 54 80 1

N. Crude, in poor taste (hyphenated) — 109 84 58 143 122 99 14 138

O. Sicilian rival of Athens and Carthage — 116 128 168 130 75 5 45 37

P. Mythical Spartan king, consort of Leda — 104 9 12 171 26 112 140 40 64

Q. Turn to bone — 137 47 31 63 83 124

R. President Pinnochio's has surely reached record lengths — 165 146 89 56

S. Sacramental prayer or hymn — 57 91 34 106 86 159 66 142 81

T. Oxidation — 94 77 88 59

U. In a state of belligerency (dipl., 2 words) — 169 15 131 152 103

V. Phoenician ally of David and Solomon — 71 95 41 148

W. Washington Irving's inglorious Crane — 100 22 72 150 110 76 149

X. Zeus's mountain retreat — 35 147 52 123 53 3 135

Y. Hugo's hunchback's haunt (2 words) — 78 125 108 121 33 87 46 27 102

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definition on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. TONY SNOW: *Whitewater Woes*: "The official White House line is that Americans don't care about Whitewater. That may be true. But it's also plain that the Administration and congressional Democrats care a whole lot about the matter—perhaps too much for the President's own good."

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Oh No! Running for President?

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 16

Mr. Yeltsin has announced that he will run for re-election as President of Russia. It is his duty to "consolidate all healthy forces and prevent shocks that could lead to a civil war." That is quite a threat to toss about, something no candidate in New Hampshire has got around to. In the past few months Mr. Yeltsin has got rid of those of his lieutenants identified with the reform movement. This greatly surprised those members of our State Department who rued the long interval back in 1991 during which Gorbachev was falling apart and U.S. policy refused to recognize the importance of Yeltsin. We did so only after that dramatic day in Red Square when Yeltsin defied the revolutionists and soon after was elected president.

It was demoralizing to read the assessment of Yeltsin by Vyacheslav Kostikov, Yeltsin's former press secretary. "Power is his ideology," he said, "his concubine if you want, his lover—and his passion. Everything that is beyond the fight for power concerns him much less." When that remark about Yeltsin was aired, Kostikov was instantly fired (he had been ambassador to the Vatican). Fifty years earlier he'd have been instantly executed. Even ten years ago he would have suffered something more resonant than dismissal from a diplomatic post.

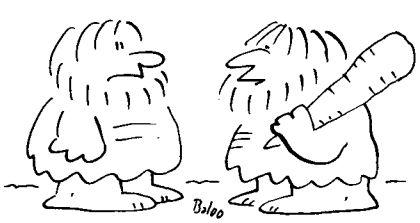
There are many contenders for the presidency of Russia, but the thinking in some quarters is that there will be a runoff between the two lead candidates, and that they will be Yeltsin and Gennadi Zyuganov. Now Mr. Zyuganov, formerly a provincial teacher, is running on the Communist Party ticket and is thought the probable victor.

It staggers the mind. Suppose that in Germany a politician were to run on the National Socialist Party ticket. He might say, "Let's see if this time around we can do it without killing the Jews, or invading France." Zyuganov being a very acute politician, it can't be said of him that he got tripped up into running as a Communist. As with Yeltsin, one can't know what this politician's internal designs or attachments or loyalties are. But Zyuganov proclaims his attachment to Communism, intending to persuade the Russians that much of the pain they now experience—en route to a free society and a free market—they didn't experience back then under Stalin and Brezhnev, when no one was ever fired from his job, prices were stable, and crime was at low tide. In December's parliamentary race Zyuganov faced a liberal challenger. At one of their encounters, posters were flaunted: "50,000,000 VICTIMS OF CIVIL WAR, COLLECTIVIZATION AND REPRESSION WOULD NOT VOTE FOR ZYUGANOV." He won handily.

The great revisionism is underway. It begins by closing the memory. Four years ago, 84 per cent of high-school students tested knew what the Gulag was. Today, only 34 per cent can tell you that the Gulag was that great charnel, the archipelago in which twenty million Russians were killed, either by execution squads, or starvation, or exposure. Such historical tablelands, when brought to the attention of the Communist candidate for President, are shrugged off as incidents of yesteryear. "We can't answer for the mistakes of the past."

What is lost sight of is the primary finding of history in the matter of the Communist approach to government. It is that the cruelty, the repression, the economic sclerosis are an organic part of the whole. When Gorbachev authorized *glasnost* his critics proved absolutely correct, that *glasnost* would need to be repealed, or else that it would bring on the dissolution of the Communist enterprise, because free speech and Communism are irreconcilable. Yeltsin is already moving toward economic interventionism, and in his pursuit of power will almost certainly go further. The Communists in China are experimenting with economic freedom carefully sequestered, but their fear of its leverage on civil rights brings them to furious exhibitions of power and threat; because experience teaches that economic freedom requires a measure of personal freedom.

So, after all of this, the next President of Russia might be a Communist. What will be his attitude toward the liberated republics? We know what the position is of Zhirinovsky, the hero of the super nationalists: bring them all back. If that were accomplished, we would be facing a Communist leader of a new Soviet Union and wondering, quite reasonably, whether it would be thought new for so very long. □



"You look different—have you been evolving or something?"

The Problem of the Fatherless Child I

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 6

The weekend paper ran a cartoon by Mike Smith of the North American Syndicate. In a sequence, the freckled little girl with long hair, reproduced eight times with eight balloons, tells us what she is thinking: "This is Cindy." "Cindy is 13 years old." "Which means she can't drink." "She can't drive." "She can't even buy cigarettes." "Which is all the better for the health and safety . . . of her daughter."

In October, in this space, I designated the single-parent household, as so many others have, as the primary social problem in America. I meditated that since the steep rise in illegitimate births over the past thirty years (from 5 per cent to 18 per cent among whites; 25 to 63 per cent among blacks) few ideas have crystallized on how to arrest a development that is afflicting one million children per year (they will in their lifetime—mostly before they reach maturity—run a 600 per cent greater chance than children raised by two parents of life in poverty, criminal activity, addiction to drugs, illiteracy). The single novel idea, developed at systematic length, is that of Charles Murray, who in his book *Losing Ground* endorsed an end to public welfare as a disincentive to sexual promiscuity (and to sloth).

I asked readers to share with me their own suggestions on how to deal with the problem. The reply was overwhelming, over eight hundred letters, and I take this opportunity to thank them deeply and to apologize for the mechanical impossibility of acknowledging them individually.

There is no mistaking the anger out there. It tends to focus on that which is most palpable: The cost imposed on the

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individual whose sexual activity is conventional, by those who proceed to produce children who then become, in virtue of the father's absence and dereliction, charges to them. One mother writes that she thinks it wrong, somehow, that her daughter and son-in-law are postponing a family until their material fortunes improve, yet find themselves helping to pay for the support of other mothers who do not postpone motherhood until after they are married.

Some who complain focus on the moral dereliction of the here-today gone-tomorrow sire, some focus primarily on the utilitarian question: What to do about people who misbehave in a world in which misbehavior is usually not defined in a moral context. It may be legal misbehavior to deny an opportunity for equal treatment to a minority 18-year old, but it is not legal misbehavior to deny equal treatment to an infant born out of wedlock.

But some do focus on the quite extraordinary insouciance of the young generation of studs. One lawyer from South Dakota who has heard "over seven hundred child-support cases" sends along a transcript (the names of the principals are blacked out), of an illuminating example.

The situation was as follows. The young defendant is brought in to answer for his failure to send the required check to the mother of two of his children. We learn that he has sired a third child by another woman, and his complaint is that he simply cannot earn enough money to satisfy the demands being made on him, and the court simply has to recognize this.

REFEREE: So you're saying that you're going to hide out from the child support obligation?

DAD: I would if need be.

REFEREE: You know it's possible that could be a felony?

DAD: Yes, I know that.

REFEREE: You, I assume voluntarily engaged in intercourse with each of those women, is that much correct?

DAD: Mm-hmm.

REFEREE: And the consequence was that on at least three occasions these women conceived and had children?

DAD: Yeah.

REFEREE: And that certainly isn't society's fault.

DAD: I never said it was.

REFEREE: You know, society's not treating you unfairly. You weren't required to have *any* children.

DAD: Well, I don't think it's, you know, up to society to not let me have a living at the same time, either. . . . There's got to be a compromise so the State can be happy and I can be happy too.

Respondents were all but unanimous in asking the law to bear down on the fathers, mostly absent. Some suggest DNA tests immediately after birth, when more often than not the father shows up proudly, even if it is only for a few weeks: do a DNA on the baby and the father, to preserve perpetual evidence of biological responsibility. And then, not a few respondents ask, Why is it not criminal, the activity we speak of? □

The Problem of the Fatherless Child II

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 9

We pursue the social problem of one million children per year born into fatherless homes and review some of the letters from hundreds of readers who wrote in to make suggestions on how to deal with a problem that began its steep rise approximately in 1965. And many ask, Why ought it not to be a crime to father a child out of wedlock?

Indeed. It's a crime to drive when one has had too much to drink, though the statistical chances the driver will hurt somebody when his blood alcohol is 0.1 are less than that he will have hurt the child he sired. Two out of five black men in Washington, D.C., between the ages of 18 and 25 are in jail, on probation, or being prosecuted, in an area in which over 75 per cent of black children are born to an unmarried mother.

A fair question.

Several respondents remind us that there are laws against statutory rape. But the paradox is that if you have sex with a girl under 18 you can be jailed in most states, but if you have sex with a girl under 18 who becomes pregnant, the organically required "rape" dematerializes. And over 30 per cent of the fatherless children are born to mothers under twenty.

The indignation, resentment, and scorn came in profusely, and from the tenor of most letters one could discern that they were not written by censorious temperaments. A great many wondered what has happened to the primary sanction against illegitimacy in the past, which has been shame. Shame before God, yes, but also before the community. "She has to feel the pain of society's anger and disapproval of her irresponsible, selfish act. Pain hurts, there's a recoiling reaction to it." "Bring back the old stocks of the Puritan times . . . Wrongdoers could go to work and support their families but when not at their places of employment spend so many hours a day on public exhibition."

Some call for compulsory national service for the father, penal in character . . . Yes, deny them what most desire intensely, a driver's license . . . Some would make the father the legal custodian of the child, taking the mother for special training.

Several decry the failure of black leaders sufficiently to emphasize the terrible damage done by wanton sex. "If thirty years ago I were a Ku Klux Klan leader who would want to do major damage to blacks, I would invent the welfare system."

Many favor biological intervention. Norplants, vasectomies, tubal ligations. Many caution against the facile alternative of abortions, but some, including self-professed Catholics, argue that abortion under the circumstances is merciful . . . Why not move against the lubricity of the rock and roll culture, by such measures as advocated by Senator Dole? Or, "Establish public brothels in strategic areas where illegitimacy is most prevalent."

The proffered approaches depended heavily on what respondents saw as the primary cause of the blight. The blame is, for some, primarily that of the government (welfare, lax law enforcement, the improper use of tax revenues). For others, the culture—the movies, TV, rap music, pornography, ultra-feminism, divorce. And for others the evanescence of the idea of—Sin.

"There is only one solution, and you know what it is. The moral law of the Supreme Being." "The deterrents you outlined in your column? You called them the equivalent of Pentagon contingency plans to invade Switzerland: i.e., they're not going to happen. You're right. The sad fact is that the one major success the liberals have had is the destruction of the family during the last 30 years. What worked for the first 190 years in this country is no longer possible or even worth writing about. The family is the basic unit of our society and it has a cancer. And yet the components of the cancer—illegitimacy, promiscuity, adultery, increased divorce, homosexuality—are accepted as 'lifestyles' and even exalted. . . . "

I reiterate my thanks to the 800 plus who wrote in. The research in hand will be made available to any responsible researcher or research organization willing to bear the cost of reproduction. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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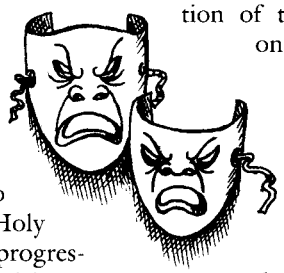
THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

READERS of this space often write me asking where I get my ideas and how I put a column together. It's a hard question to answer in a letter but I can tell you the genesis of this column here and now.

It was a morning in mid-January and I was enjoying my definition of heaven: coffee, cigarettes, and the *Washington Times*. The intense silence imposed by heavy snow made me feel even more alone than usual, and it was good. Peaceful and magnanimous was yours truly, sipping and inhaling and turning pages—until I came to the story about the female Episcopal bishop who consecrated a slice of Wonder Bread.



A traditional parish in Maryland that opposes the ordination of women had boycotted the bishop's visit and stripped the church of wafers and wine to prevent her from offering Holy Communion. A minority of progressive parishioners rallied round her, one contributing an unpretentious little merlot, and another, who must be a convert, contributing a loaf of Wonder Bread. Her Grace made do with the substitutes and was photographed with arms upraised, "breaking" the squishy slice (you can see her fingerprints on it).

Afterward, she was photographed receiving a violent, miter-threatening hug from a female supporter. Two traditionalists in the back of the church who had videotaped the event also were included in the love feast when another progressive female made a point of shaking hands with them, telling the reporter: "It seemed to me that understanding could happen if we shook hands and touched each other's bodies."

At that, the pin-drop hush of a snowy morning was shattered as I yelled "Kill! Kill!" and a column was born.

I've always had a bleak opinion of my poor, feeble sex but I used to be detached and rational about it. Back in the Seventies I scrutinized arguments on the Equal Rights Amendment for logical fallacies; did the same with abortion arguments in the Eighties; and filled the margins of feminist books with austere little notes that would have done any bluestocking proud.

No more. I have turned into St. Jerome as he might have been portrayed by Jackie Gleason. I went ballistic when Anita Hill, professor of law, said, "I look forward to the day when just one woman's word is enough"; and again when Enid Waldholtz said, "I was tired of being the strong one," and then cried for five hours. My reaction to the lady bishop was but the latest manifestation of the crumbling fortress that once was my nervous system. Any day now you will see me starring as the egg in a public-service ad, "This is your brain . . . this is your brain on women."

Looking back on the feminist movement, I wonder if it might not have been better if the Equal Rights Amendment had been ratified. That way, the feminists would have disappeared, as the suffragettes disappeared after the ratification of the 19th Amendment. Except for the remnant that formed the League of Women Voters, which quickly became an enclave of conventional matrons, it was hard to tell that suffragettes had ever existed.

But ERA was defeated and out of the ensuing frustration the horror show called post-feminism was born. The dependably middle-class Betty Friedan beat a hasty retreat; Susan Brownmiller and Germaine Greer, the most intelligent and talented of the Seventies' feminists, moved to the Right, leaving the field to the hot-gospel genderoids who are giving us ERA on a case-by-case basis.

All of the dire results that Phyllis Schlafly predicted are coming to pass, without the solemnity of a Constitutional amendment to discourage actions that are more ridiculous than dangerous. We already have gay marriages in Hawaii and unisex bathrooms in coed dorms, but would a ratified ERA have inspired a suit to force Hooters restaurants to hire men as cocktail waitresses?

When Mrs. Schlafly was campaigning against ERA she was often confronted by talk-show hosts who solemnly read out the words, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex," and then asked her, "What's wrong with that?" She always replied, "Read the other part"—meaning the second clause with its nightmarish scenario of eternal litigation: "Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Her technique caught on. When NRA members recited "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," gun-control advocates demanded their favorite other part: "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state. . . ."

I HAVE a favorite other part, too. Feminist literary critters love to recite Virginia Woolf's plea for "a room of my own," but there's more. What she said was: "Give me 500 pounds a year and a room of my own and you can keep the vote."

We conservatives have a tendency to box ourselves in with Aristotelian formalism and a Jesuitical approach to argument, but when the subject is feminism the best thing to do is get right down there with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Bill Clinton and just let it come.

I'm sick of women. I'm sick of their wombs, I'm sick of their breast tissue, I'm sick of their lawsuits, I'm sick of their glass ceilings, and I'm sick of those made-for-TV female-victim movies about stalkers, anonymous callers, and buried memories of childhood incest. I can't bear to watch them but I always read the listings faithfully, in a spirit of self-flagellation, to see what they'll come up with next.

As far as I can tell, there's only one plot left: a white-male fetus rends his father's penis while the parents are making the beast with two backs; the father bleeds to death, and the white-male fetus, conveniently situated within reach of his mother's G-spot, stimulates her until she becomes his sexual slave.

If anyone wants to write this screenplay, I offer, free of charge, a title: *Umbilicus Rex*. □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

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